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Akhromeyev Interviewed on Tactical Missiles

AU1205193789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
11 May 89 p 6

[Interview with Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, adviser to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, by NOVOSTI commentator Vladimir Ostrovskiy: "It Is Necessary To Negotiate, Not Modernize; Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev on New NATO Missiles"]

[Text] At a recent session of the NATO nuclear planning group, Richard Cheney, the U.S. secretary of defense, stressed that the modernization of American nuclear missiles is unavoidable. The NOVOSTI commentator has asked Marshal of the Soviet Union Sergey Akhromeyev, adviser to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to comment on the data that was presented by the U.S. secretary.

[Akhromeyev] Tactical nuclear systems in Europe are not made up only of missiles, as the U.S. secretary of defense contends. They in fact represent some kind of a triad, consisting of missile launchers, offensive missile-carrying aircraft, and artillery systems with nuclear components. The correlation of all these systems is not at all 16 to 1 in the Warsaw Pact's favor, as the Pentagon chief claimed.

The Warsaw Pact member states have 1,608 tactical missiles, compared to NATO's 136 (in this type of weapons, the Warsaw Pact thus has a 12 to 1 preponderance). However, NATO has 4,075 missile-carrying offensive aircraft in the front-line air force, compared to the Warsaw Pact's 2,783. In other words, in this type of weapons, NATO has a preponderance of almost 1,300 aircraft. In addition, each alliance avails itself of more than 6,000 artillery weapons capable of delivering a nuclear charge at a distance of 50 to 60 km. The aggregate nuclear potentials in tactical systems are thus roughly balanced, with each side possessing over 10,000 carriers of nuclear shells.

[Ostrovskiy] In spite of this, for the term tactical nuclear weapons R. Cheney substitutes a different term, tactical nuclear missiles, which he finds more suitable. Why?

[Akhromeyev] R. Cheney and other leading NATO representatives are proposing that we unilaterally reduce the number of missiles; that is, they focus on only one type of tactical weapons in Europe, which, of course, is no service to the balance of forces. The Warsaw Pact agrees to a cut in the number of its tactical missiles to the level of NATO missiles. However, in this case the NATO pact would have to cut the number of its offensive aircraft by 1,300, by which it exceeds the number of analogous aircraft in the Warsaw Pact's arsenal. On both sides it would be possible to substantially reduce the number of artillery weapons that are capable of firing nuclear charges. In this way, the two alliances would bring to equal levels their tactical nuclear systems in each component of the triad, while substantially reducing their overall number on each side.

[Ostrovskiy] What is your view of the U.S. intention to create and introduce into service a new missile, the Lance 2?

[Akhromeyev] This is a fundamentally new missile with a range of up to 500 km, enhanced precision, and a more powerful nuclear charge. It is a qualitatively new weapon which cannot be compared with its predecessor, the Lance missile. If Lance 2 is deployed in Europe, an absolutely unacceptable situation will arise for us. The Soviet Union is now destroying its Oka (SS-23) missiles, in harmony with the Soviet-American treaty on eliminating intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles (the deadline for their complete elimination is 1 January 1990) and the United States will be deploying analogous missiles on the continent! During the Soviet-American talks on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, the Americans already knew that the OKA missiles have a range below 500 km. And still, throughout the 6 years of negotiations (1981-87), they insisted that the missile be included in the agreement on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles and subjected to destruction. Now, acting in contradiction to the demands which it raised at the previous negotiations with the Soviet Union, the United States wants to create an analogous weapon. This is a violation of the purport of the agreement on eliminating intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

[Ostrovskiy] At the session of the NATO nuclear planning group, R. Cheney announced that the Soviet Union is replacing its eliminated SS-23 missiles with the Scud missile, which has a range of up to 300 km. If this is so, why do we oppose the modernization of missiles by NATO?

[Akhromeyev] No, this is not so. The R-17 (Scud-B) missile with a range of up to 300 km was put into service in 1962. It is an old missile which cannot be compared with the SS-23 missile and cannot replace it from the viewpoint of its tactical and technological parameters. The Oka (SS-23) missile was put into service in the eighties and it is a truly modern weapon. It was included in the agreement on eliminating Soviet and American intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles with the intention that in the future neither side should possess such missiles. R. Cheney's statement that the USSR is replacing SS-23 missiles with R-17 (Scud-B) missiles therefore does not correspond to reality. This also holds true for his second contention, namely that the Soviet Union is supposedly preparing a new "air-to-surface" missile with a range of up to 500 km.

The substance of the Soviet position is refraining from any modernization of tactical nuclear systems in Europe because, at any rate, it would only incite a new round in the nuclear arms race. The need for negotiations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on a radical cut in these types of weapons has long been ripe. A cut in their number on both sides will reinforce trust and the security of nations. The ultimate aim must be the elimination of all tactical systems—ground-based and air-based missiles, nuclear bombs, as well as artillery charges—as means of combat that are least controllable.

Reportage on USSR Troop Reductions in East Europe

Transport Battalion Leaves CSSR

LD1305144189 Moscow TASS in English 1422 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Prague May 13 TASS—The Soviet Union on Saturday began withdrawing its troops from Czechoslovakia, in accordance with the Soviet Government's decision, approved by the Warsaw Treaty member-states. An army vehicle battalion of the Central Group of Soviet Troops in Czechoslovakia, which was stationed near Olomouc, is the first to go home.

A meeting held on the occasion was addressed by Deputy Commander of the Central Group of Soviet Troops in Czechoslovakia, Major-General Anatoliy Zuyev, and attended by representatives of the Czechoslovak public.

Secretary of the party committee of one of the Brno districts Miroslav Matousek thanked the Soviet servicemen for their assistance in field work, and young pioneers of the Olomouc Frantisek Stupka School bid warm farewell to the Soviet servicemen with whom they were friendly for over 15 years.

After the meeting, an 11-kilometre column of Soviet Army vehicles headed for the Czechoslovak-Soviet frontier.

Withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, which began today, is part of an overall plan to unilaterally reduce the Soviet armed forces, announced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations in December 1988.

Tank Regiment Withdraws From Hungary

LD1505062189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0204 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] In line with a Soviet Government decision, the withdrawal of the tank training regiment stationed in the Hungarian town of Debrecen will begin today. Its personnel and equipment will leave Hungary before 4 June.

Tanks Leave GDR

PM1205115189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[PRAVDA own correspondent S. Baygarov dispatch: "Going Home!"]

[Text] Berlin, 11 May—The large-scale withdrawal of Soviet troops from the GDR has begun. Some 20 T-64 tanks and more than 60 personnel loaded onto railcars and embarked on their journey today in the town of Alteslager. The withdrawal of the first major Soviet formation stationed in the GDR began there.

The withdrawal of Soviet troops from GDR territory is taking place within the framework of the overall reduction in the USSR Armed Forces. This peaceful initiative became law following the appropriate USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree. More than 4,000 modern tanks, 137 aircraft, and other combat equipment will be withdrawn from the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany [GSFG] alone.

Lieutenant General V. Fursin, GSFG chief of staff, announced at a news conference here the day before that all the tank commands are to be reshaped, and the assault and landing subunits are being withdrawn from GDR territory. Units' tank numbers will be reduced by between 20 and 80 percent, depending on their function. At the same time the GSFG will be reinforced by antitank, antiaircraft, and engineering units and subunits.

The withdrawal of equipment began in effect in mid-March. Some 1,000 tanks have already been sent back to the Soviet Union. A whole regiment is being removed now. Its evacuation will take a week. The last of those destined for redeployment to a new area within the Soviet Union or disbandment will leave GDR territory next November-December.

"Do you mind leaving," I asked some soldiers who had just covered up their combat vehicle.

"It's nice to visit, but home's better," Private Mikhail Chervyakov, a gunner from Tomsk, replied.

It emerged that he and his friend Gennadiy Yenishen from the Ryazan area are to be discharged into the reserve in a few weeks. Their comrades who have not completed their period of service will serve in other units in the Soviet Union. The overwhelming majority of the regiment's officers, including the commander, Lieutenant Colonel A. Poltavskiy, know where they are to serve next.

...A bell rang, and the train slowly pulled away.

Zholkver Discusses Troop Cuts, USSR Initiatives

LD1205170289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] [presenter Andrey Ptashnikov] Today, the number one subject of worldwide press, radio, and television is the results of the Soviet-U.S. talks in connection with the visit to Moscow by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. At the same time, at the center of everyone's attention there are new initiatives of the USSR in the sphere of disarmament which were mapped out by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev during his meeting with Baker. I will ask our political observer Aleksandr Zholkver to tell us in greater detail about these initiatives and generally about the world's reaction to them.

[Zholkver] I happened to visit the news conference of the U.S. and Soviet ministers. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of the questions asked there were devoted to problems in the sphere of disarmament. As everyone knows, when these problems were discussed in the past, the usual stumbling block against which everything would stop was the allegation of NATO countries' representatives that the USSR and other countries of the Warsaw Pact had superiority in the strength of troops and tanks and that therefore the West could not cut its armaments. And now what is going on is that the Hamburg newspaper MORGEN POST says today that Gorbachev is destroying the sacred canons. Indeed, it is proposed to abandon the fruitless arithmetical calculations—which have been going on for many years—of the troops and armaments opposing each other, and that both sides start major cutbacks of them by more than 1 million soldiers and officers.

[Ptashnikov] All right. Cutbacks are one thing, but what about cases of imbalance. After all, they also exist.

[Zholkver] Of course, they exist on both sides. Therefore we propose that every side should reduce above all those types of weapons in which it has superiority. Indeed, we have more tanks for example, armored troop carriers and artillery. And the Warsaw pact organization is prepared to reduce them by 40,000 - 46,000. NATO, on the other hand, possesses a greater number of combat aircraft and helicopters. And their number must be cut approximately by 2,500 units. As a result, each military alliance in Europe would be left with the same number of armed forces and weapons by the mid-nineties: Each would have approximately 1,350,000 personnel, 20,000 tanks, and 1,500 combat aircraft of the tactical air force.

[Ptashnikov] What about tactical nuclear weapons—this question is currently the most topical? What is to happen to them?

[Zholkver] Yes, this issue really does worry the Europeans a great deal because, as you know, the NATO command is demanding a so-called modernization of these weapons, and that would effectively signify the appearance in Western Europe of weapons with new specifications—with enhanced range and capacity. We are proposing another way which would lead to a so-called third zero in Europe, to the elimination of not just intermediate and shorter range nuclear missiles, but also short range ones, with a range of up to 500 km. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev informed the U.S. Secretary of State that the Soviet Union has decided unilaterally to withdraw from the territory of its allies 500 warheads of tactical nuclear systems as early as this year—this applies ito aircraft-borne, artillery, and missile systems; and before 1992 the USSR is altogether prepared to withdraw from the territory of its allies all nuclear ammunition, on condition, of course, that the United States takes a similar step.

[Ptashnikov] I now have a question for you as a political observer. How do you foresee further developments?

[Zholkver] Yesterday evening in Moscow there was a meeting of minsters of foreign affairs of the Warsaw Pact countries, and they fully supported our proposal and expressed hope for the equivalent steps from NATO. Today, Secretary of State Baker briefed the NATO countries' ministers of foreign affairs in Brussels on the results of his visit to Moscow. In June—this has already been announced—Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear, space, and chemical weapons are resuming in Geneva. In Vienna, as you will know, talks are under way on the reduction of conventional weapons, and the additional proposals just set out by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev will now be presented there. And last and, I would add, not least, the Warsaw Pact organisation is proposing to NATO that talks should also begin in the immediate future on tactical nucelar weapons.

(Ptashnikov] In other words, after the Washington hiatus that had begun to drag on somewhat, the negotiating mechanism, as we can see, is again being set in train, is that not so?

[Zholkver] Yes, but of course many difficulties still have to be overcome. But, you know, the experience of the intermediate and shorter range treaty and the results of the present Soviet-U.S. talks in Moscow, it seems to me, provide grounds for optimism.

[Ptashnikov] Well, let us hope that will be the case. Thank you.

General Stefanovskiy Discusses Troop Reductions

LD1205180889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 12 May 89

[Interview with Lieutenant General Gennadiy Aleksandrovich Stefanovskiy, deputy chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, by unidentified correspondent—date and place not given—recorded; from the NOVOSTI newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent] Gennediy Aleksandrovich, we know that the decision has been made to reduce the Armed Forces and a specific start has already been made on this reduction. A whole range of aspects arise in connection with this.

[Stefanovskiy] Yes, unquestionably this is a process which affects the interests both of the army and of the people and which raises a whole group of questions connected with the reductions in the Armed Forces.

One such question which it is natural for each Soviet person to ask is: Is reducing the Armed Forces not a weakening of combat readiness? Will this not affect our homeland's defense capability?

Of course, everyone understands that reducing by 500,000 men means without question a weakening. But today the question is that opposed to a reduction of 500,000 men and of a considerable quantity of hardware will be vigorous and purposeful work to compensate quantity with quality.

This task was set at the 19th party conference and it has now become the content of cadres' activities. And the 2 years, during which it is intended to reduce the Armed Forces, will be 2 years of restructuring toward quality parameters, of changes in the content of training, of raising the requirements of our programs, of the training of officers' cadres, that is to say, an entire set of questions which will be connected with raising the quality of study, competence to handle equipment, its best models, so as to be able to use all our might, the might of the Armed Forces, the might of the new hardware—the very latest of which we have been receiving and will receive—against any aggressive act, if it can be committed against our state. And I think that in the future, too, the task of quality parameters will be implemented through raising the quality of the defense industry, raising the quality of the training process, and raising the quality of indoctrination work, raising our vigilance, and readiness for our sacred duty. And today, as never before, for each Soviet serviceman, from soldier to general and marshal, the task is to be on the alert.

[Correspondent] And I would like to know—after all, a large number of senior and junior officers will be part of the reductions. How will this reduction come about? Whom will it affect? Who will be discharged in the first place? And how, by the way, will this affect the material well-being and security of these categories?

[Stefanovskiy] Yes, the second question is acute. And I can say the following: We have taken into account, first of all, the bitter lessons and the positive experience connected with previous reductions, because this is not the first time. And we think that the experience we have had will help us to resolve more correctly a very acute, a very serious problem.

We have made up our minds and the implementation is proceeding. The reduction of the Armed Forces, as far as it will relate to officer personnel, it is known that one in five out of 500,000 is an officer or a warrant officer who will be discharged. We are proceeding along the main path, a path which will ensure for everyone being discharged that this should be without damage both in material and in moral terms, so that this change-over should be without damage for his family or for him. Therefore, the first involved in the reductions in the Armed Forces, will be the generals and officers, warrant officers, who have all full benefits as regards years served, as regards pension, and who have housing.

[Correspondent] That is to say, who are entitled to a full pension.

[Stefanovskiy] Who are entitled to a full pension and who have their housing where he could settle with his family. Where this is not the case, in what conditions can this question arise? In conditions when an officer does not measure up to his function as regards moral and business qualities, and, under the fitness report, cannot continue his service in the duty assignment which we would like or in which he would like to serve, in this case everything will be done in order for even if he is discharged by a decision of efficiency report boards—and such boards have now been set up in all units and combined units—for the maximum to be done to ensure that his family has housing, and that he receives the merited minimum pension for his years served. That is why we expect that not a single officer, including those who will be part of the reductions at a younger age, will be discharged from the army feeling aggrieved, that is to say, without taking into account the collective's view. That is to say, a voluntarist approach in this case, it seems to me, will be ruled out. At least both the minister of defense and the Chief Political Directorate are taking all possible steps to prevent anywhere a violation of the legality, of the rights of Soviet citizens. What is more, I will say that the decision has been made for those who will be discharged from remote garrisons for various reasons, additional housing will be built which will be handed over to them and to their families in order for people to have their corner.

[Correspondent] What are, so to speak, the problems of using them in order for them to produce the greatest effect in their future service and work in civilian conditions?

[Stefanovskiy] Yes, we assume that the release from the army is an increase of trained specialists for the national economy. The overwhelming majority of those who will be discharged, even those who already are at a pensionable age, and, depending on rank, you know the age differs, these are people who still have a large reserve of strength [prochnost], if one can apply that expression to a person, strength of knowledge, strength of energy, and strength of experience. These are people, who, in my view, can easily join our labor collectives as specialists, and many of them have specific specialities, good, modern specialities, connected with electronics, technology. Finally, this is a large group which can relieve teachers in our civilian colleges, military departments, and initial military training in schools. These are people who have teaching skills, people who are capable both of showing things and of discussing the present-day army. And finally, if one speaks of public life, these are also, it seems to me, the gold reserves which can replenish the manpower in military-patriotic indoctrination, in showing the true face of the Soviet Armed Forces, strengthening the friendship and unity of the army and people. That is to say, we think that these are people who will indeed be allies in all our affairs, both in economic and educational...

[Correspondent interrupting] That is to say, as we say, in civilian life they will be of great benefit.

[Stefanovskiy] I think that at least the majority of those whom I had occasion to meet with are ready tomorrow or the day after tomorrow, without any special interval, to join in our stormy life of restructuring and to make a contribution within their power, to the extent of their strength—and many have enough such strength.

Disarmament Expert Interviewed on Soviet Proposals

AU1205205689 Vienna Television Service in German 2000 GMT 12 May 89

[Interview with Daniil Proektor, "member of the Soviet World Economics and International Relations Institute" and member of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, by ORF correspondent Raimund Loew in Moscow on 12 May—recorded]

[Text] [Loew] How important is this proposal for Soviet foreign policy?

[Proektor] I would like to particularly stress that we are willing to withdraw all attack components, so to speak, of our Armed Forces from Europe. Then, if this proposal is implemented, I think that Europe will look differently within the foreseeable future.

[Loew] What the West is naturally most interested in is the topic of short-range missiles, about which there is a vehement discussion going on within NATO. One can hardly imagine that Gorbachev made his proposal without having the hidden idea that this will further exacerbate this conflict within NATO.

[Proektor] We think that it is, of course, the NATO countries which have to make the decision. We think that those are right who are against modernization. I would like to say that this does not depend on us. The Kohl Government makes this policy alone. This is in the interest of the FRG and, I think, also of the GDR. I believe they are also involved—theoretically, so to speak. It is another matter that our views also go in the same direction.

[Loew] Over the past few weeks the dismantling of the iron curtain along the Austro-Hungarian border has been started. If the situation in Europe changes in the way that the Soviet Union wants it to, might then the Berlin Wall also be torn down?

[Proektor] It is one of the principles of our new way of thinking, of our new policy, that everyone decides for himself—free choice in politics. If the Hungarians want to shape relations with Austria in this way—okay, we are not against it, this is good. The question of the Berlin Wall will have to be decided by the citizens and governments of the GDR and the FRG themselves.

[Loew] And you, yourself, could you imagine something like this?

[Proektor] Yes, in the future. In the future—I do not know when. You know, developments in Europe are moving in the direction of increasing cooperation. The world has already reached some sort of unity—as of now. Europe will reach ever greater unity. Of course, over 10 or 20 or 30 years—I do not know when—Europe's image will look totally different from now. I am not a prophet, I cannot say what the future of this wall will be like, but basically I think that something may change here, too.

Reaction to Soviet Arms Initiative Viewed

LD1205183289 Moscow TASS in English 1818 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 12 TASS—By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev:

Practical actions by the Soviet Union and its allies to lower the level of military confrontation in Europe gave such a powerful impetus to developing international relations in the past years that some Western leaders simply cannot catch up with the rapidly changing situation in the world.

For example, the current U.S. Administration, which recently proclaimed the aim to continue putting to test the new Soviet thinking, reacted with restraint to the Soviet decision to unilaterally withdraw 500 warheads of its short-range nuclear forces (SNF) this year from the territory of its allies. According to BBC television, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, who had first-hand knowledge of the Soviet decision, was not pleased with the latest Soviet initiative because it could soon set the Western public against the position of Washington, which is opposed to talks on short-range nuclear forces (SNF) with the Soviet Union.

At a time when the world public welcomes the Soviet initiatives, some Atlantists voice concern over the fact that the withdrawal of 500 Soviet SNF warheads from the Warsaw Treaty countries would put a heavy burden on the shoulders of U.S. leaders, who are now busy "persuading" their European allies in NATO to give up demands for delaying the modernisation of NATO's tactical nuclear arms. The more fervent Atlantists are trying to belittle the importance of the Soviet peace initaitive by alleging that it aims primarily to introduce a split into the ranks of NATO allies and to undermine the unity of the North Atlantic Alliance.

Incidentally, if the NATO leadership began to "drive wedges" into the ranks of the members of the Warsaw Treaty organization by unilateral cuts, for example, in their helicopters and strike aviation in Western Europe, the world public, including the Soviet Union, would have only welcomed such "subversive actions."

The changes that take place in the world under the influence of the new political thinking help elucidate the positions of countries, reveal the true aims of governments, alliances, political parties, and their attitude to the burning problems of war and peace. The myths about "Soviet military threat", which formed the basis for the "flexible reaction" strategy of NATO and the Pentagon's "limited nuclear war" concept in Europe, are disintegrating. The common sense policy proves its advantage over the position-from-strength policy.

Soviet Inspectors Arrive At Dugway Proving Ground

LD1405135189 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] San Francisco May 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Sidorin:

A ten-member group of Soviet inspectors has arrived at Dugway proving ground in Utah to verify compliance with the treaty on the elimination of shorter-range missiles.

Previously, this military facility, which is located approximately 128 km away from Salt Lake City, was the site of tests of land-based nuclear-tipped cruise missiles which are now subject to elimination under the INF Treaty.

Cathy Whitaker, a spokesperson for the facility, said the current inspection of the facility by Soviet specialists is one of the so- called quota inspections, which the two sides by mutual agreement notify each other of shortly before making them. Until 1992 the United States and the Soviet Union each may carry out 20 quota inspections every year.

Whitaker said the Soviet specialists are given an opportunity to inspect whatever they deem necessary within the radius of ten km from the site where missile tests had been conducted earlier. The purpose of such inspection is to verify that there are no intermediate nuclear missiles here and that no missile tests are conducted any longer. She pointed out that this is already the second visit by Soviet experts to the Dugway proving ground. The first one was made in July last year.

Apart from the Dugway proving ground, there are another five military facilities in the western United States, which at a discretion of the Soviet side, may be subjected to on-site quota inspections.

Those are military plant 19 in San Diego, California, which earlier produced components for intermediate-range cruise missiles, the army arsenal at Pueblo, Colorado, the U.S. air bases at Fort Huachuca and at Davis-Monthan, Arizona, as well as a secret plant which earlier produced Pershing-2 missile components at Magna, Utah.

Soviet Inspectors End Visit to NATO Base

LD1105225289 Moscow TASS in English 2242 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Rome May 12 TASS—Soviet inspectors paid their third six-hour visit to the NATO base in Comiso, Sicily, on Thursday to see how American Cruise missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads are being destroyed, ANSA news agency reported.

Sixty four out of 112 cruise missiles are remaining in Comiso. The entire NATO base is to be eliminated in 1990.

Baker Briefs NATO Members on Moscow Talks

LD1205192589 Moscow TASS in English 1910 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Brussels May 12 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker today addressed a meeting of the NATO Council attended by foreign ministers and permanent representatives of NATO member countries. Baker briefed them on the results of his official visit to Moscow.

Speaking at a news conference later, James Baker gave a high appraisal of the talks with the Soviet leadership, which were constructive and fruitful, and enabled to lay the foundation for further negotiations on a wide range of issues.

The U.S. secretary of state welcomed the Soviet decision to unilaterally withdraw 500 warheads of its short-range nuclear forces (SNF) from the territory of its allies. At the same time he describe the initiative as only a modest step in the right direction. James Baker reiterated the U.S. view that the SNF talks in Europe should be preceded by a sizeable cut in the disbalance which, Washington alleges, is in favour of the Soviet Union.

In reply to journalists' questions, James Baker admitted that the U.S. and some of its allies, insisting on the prompt negotiations, had serious differences.

'Positive Content' of Talks Noted

PM1505084589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Correspondent Yu. Kharlanov dispatch: "Different Approaches"]

[Text] Brussels, 13 May—A special NATO Council session attended by the bloc member countries' foreign ministers and the permanent NATO representatives of these states has been held here. The session was addressed by the U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker, who briefed participants on the course and results of his visit to Moscow and his talks with M.S. Gorbachev and E.A. Shevardnadze.

After the session a statement was circulated which emphasizes the positive content of the talks held in Moscow. The latest USSR proposals in the sphere of conventional and nuclear arms reduction are described as a step forward. However, M.S. Gorbachev's statement about the unilateral withdrawal of 500 tactical nuclear means warheads from allied territories is assessed as inadequate. Nor is there any mention of the possibility of opening talks on these types of weapons. As for the proposals on the reduction of conventional arms, it is noted only that they will be examined in Vienna.

U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker gave a brief press conference during which he answered journalists' questions. He reaffirmed that the United States is opposed to the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. Baker admitted that during the meeting with Genscher there was evidence of different approaches to certain questions.

Perfilyev Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 12 May

Views Mongolia Troop Withdrawal

LD1505141289 Moscow TASS in English 1354 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev's talks in China will mark a landmark in improving the Soviet-Chinese relations, and the situation in Asia and the whole world, Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, said at a briefing in Moscow today.

A spokesman for the Soviet Armed Forces General Staff, Major-General Yuriy Markelov, emphasised that the withdrawal of 75 percent of Soviet troops from Mongolia, which started today, had not been scheduled in advance to coincide with Gorbachev's visit to China.

The Soviet pullout from Mongolia is an integral part of the programme of unilateral reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces by 500,000 men, announced by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in his General Assembly speech last December.

Hails Arab League Efforts on Lebanon

LD1505141289 Moscow TASS in English 1348 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS—A Soviet official has praised the energetic efforts of the Arab League to normalise the situation in Lebanon. Vadim Perfilyev, deputy head of the information directorate of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, told reporters here today that there is hope of an end to violence and suffering in Lebanon.

The fact that the international community is beginning to act to end the bloodshed and pool efforts to normalise the situation and attain a lasting settlement is satisfying, Perfilyev noted.

"These feelings," he said, "were reflected in the joint Soviet-U.S. statement on Lebanon. It is an authoritative and important word in favour of overcoming the conflict in Lebanon, restoring peace on Lebanese soil and preserving the independence, unity and territorial integrity of this state."

The main thing now, Perfilyev stressed, is to secure a final ceasefire. Only by defusing the situation can one address the main problem of starting a common Lebanese dialogue in order to restore national accord. This is quite feasible if all interested sides, primarily the Lebanese groups, back up with deeds the peace missions of the Arab League and the committee it created and cooperate constructively with it.

Another aspect of the problem remains, the Soviet spokesman said: The Lebanese crisis cannot be settled in earnest while Israel occupies Lebanese territory and interferes in its internal affairs.

"The Soviet Union insists on the fulfilment by Israel of the resolutions of the U.N. Security Council which call for the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanese territory."

Correction to Perfilyev Previews Gorbachev Visit

LD1205173189

The following correction to the item subheadlined "Previews Gorbachev PRC Visit" under the headline "Perfilyev Holds Foreign Ministry Briefing 11 May" on page 2 of the 12 May Soviet Union DAILY REPORT was transmitted by Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1705 GMT on 12 May:

page 2, column 1, paragraph 4, from first sentence make read: ...Perfilyev pointed out. There is provision for the Soviet leader to deliver addresses before representatives of the Chinese public and on national television. Visits are planned... (rephrasing).

Falin Attends Budapest Forum on Europe's Future

PM1505145189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch: "Start Made"]

[Text] Budapest, 13 May—A 3-day "roundtable" conference organized on the initiative of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] on the subject of "The Future of Europe and of European Cooperation on the Threshold of the Nineties" served as an indicator of the important changes in the world and in Europe. Representatives of more than 20 parties of different trends—communist, social democratic, Christian, conservative, and others—discussed large-scale problems: security, human rights, ecology, economic ties. The CPSU delegation was headed by V.M. Falin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department.

The processes of restructuring in the Soviet Union, Hungary, and Poland attracted the participants' great attention.

"This meeting," MSZMP General Secretary K. Grosz pointed out, "has made a start on a new and important process, because cooperation among parties can have a beneficial effect on interstate relations. Cooperation must be founded, above all, on interests common to all mankind, not on ideologies or philosophical systems. We will surrender our ideas and values to no one, but nor do we demand this of others. Today it is necessary to proceed from the realities of the modern world—cooperation instead of confrontation."

Further Reportage on London Information Forum

Pyadyshev Views Work of Forum

PM1105133589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Report by special correspondents T. Kolesnichenko and A. Lyutyy: "Bank of Ideas Is Being Supplemented: From London Information Forum"]

[Excerpt] London—[passage omitted] The London Information Forum, which is characterized by a high degree of frankness and openness, is speaking not only of our obvious successes in the sphere of expanding information, general educational, and cultural exchanges, but also of such annoying blunders. For instance, there are many failures in the field of purchases or the joint production of sophisticated means of communication.

But this problem has another side that has been mentioned frequently at the forum by representatives of the socialist states. The West is in no hurry at all to part with the discriminatory restrictions of the Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls on the export of sophisticated technology to the socialist world, which is objectively impeding the full-blooded development of information exchanges. What if in the place of the disintegrating "Iron Curtain" a new curtain should arise—a technological curtain even more impenetrable to the free movement of flows of information.

These and many other problems connected with the information policy of the states taking part in the Vienna meeting are being discussed in the forum's working groups. We asked B.D. Pyadyshev, head of the USSR delegation, to discuss the progress of the discussions.

"For the first time in the history of conferences within the framework of the all-European process," he said, "at the London forum the doors of the working groups are open to journalists. They have been given the opportunity to take part in debates, and since that is so they have immediately grasped the initiative and become a most dynamic force in the process of the discussions. Journalists are not diplomats, they speak openly of their concerns and of how official departments take too long to issue entry visas and are unresourceful in ensuring access to information sources and organizing trips to regions where critical situations—critical and therefore of particular interest to the press—are taking shape. These complaints are leveled against all countries—in the West and the East. In turn diplomats, while mainly agreeing with the journalists' correct viewpoint, have something to say about the frequently oversimplified and sometimes simply irresponsible items in the press. In brief, both sides are going through a purgatory and this benefits glasnost, benefits the more precise and broader provision of information for the public about each country's domestic and foreign affairs. That said, let's hasten to add that as a whole the atmosphere at the meeting is favorable and serious. The forum's ideas bank has now accumulated several dozen proposals and initiatives put forward by delegations or simply by individual journalists. Many of these ideas are not only interesting but also important from the viewpoint of our domestic concerns. This applies particularly to the proposals to develop cooperation in the field of communications high technology."

The Soviet stance at the forum is being well received. It is not only that it is meeting with complimentary comments from other delegations. Our concept for turning Europe into a space of openness and glasnost and our specific proposals for creating an all-European information council and organizing an all-European cultural and information television program convey the very essence of the restructuring process in the Soviet Union.

...The question of how the present forum is being covered in the press of different countries was raised at a session of one group. It emerged that the mass media of the socialist states are paying far more attention to it than the Western press. For instance, the British newspapers only allocate a very infrequent and meager place to small notes about an event which has the most direct bearing on journalists. Is there not a breach here between the Western delegates' statements about the need for more glasnost and their deeds?

Positive Results Hailed

LD1105171289 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT 11 May 89

[By TASS special correspondents Yuriy Levchenko and Vitaliy Chukseyev]

[Text] London May 11 TASS—An authoritative international conference on information, the first one in history, is crowned with positive results. This is how Boris Pyadyshev, the head of the Soviet delegation, summed up the results of the information forum in London.

He told a news conference that an intensive debate during which coinciding, different and at times diametrically opposite viewpoints were expressed has led to a clearer understanding of all the aspects of the information area of the European process. For the Soviet delegation, the main result of the information forum lies precisely in these lively and fruitful debates, in the proposals advanced by delegations, groups of journalists or individual representatives of the media on their own behalf. The debates that ended on a good note, the useful proposals and initiatives combined, crown the forum in a better way than anything else, Pyadyshev said.

Touching upon the Soviet Union's proposals he said that the idea of creating a European information council has not met with a broad support so far, as there is concern that it might become yet another formal, bureaucratic organisation. Setting out the essence of the Soviet proposal Pyadyshev said that such a forum is necessary for discussing current problems and quest for their unanimous solution. In the period of time separating the London forum with the Helsinki forum, to be held in 1992, there must be a number of debates in which both journalists and authorities would be interested, he said.

Another Soviet proposal, about setting up a European cultural-information television program, met with a most favourable response.

"We are for broad and effective information exchange. We are in favour of all the countries, participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) stringently complying with the obligations assumed under the final documents of Helsinki, Madrid and Vienna", the head of the Soviet delegation said. Pyadyshev noted particularly the fact that for the first time in the history of conferences in the framework of CSCE, meetings of working groups were open to journalists. The departure from tradition proved justifiable: Vigorous participation of journalists in the debates enriched the conversation, though at times it made debating more acute.

The head of the Soviet delegation also dwelt on a set of proposals related to the development of cooperation in the area of the latest technological communication means. He said it should not be tolerated that technological interaction in the information area be hampered by obstacles of a political nature. It was not accidental that the following concern was expressed at the forum: what if the disintegrating "iron curtain" be replaced with a new, technological, one, which will perhaps be even more inpenetrable to the free flow of information.

Pyadyshev said that after a thorough analysis of all the proposals made at the forum, the Soviet delegation will submit recommendations to the government for the improvement of the working conditions for foreign correspondents accredited in Moscow and also for Soviet journalists.

Many questions about the law on the press being prepared in the USSR were asked at the news conference. Pyadyshev said that these matters are now vigorously discussed in the USSR. This document will also reflect the provisions connected with the working conditions of journalists. The Soviet Government makes efforts in this direction but this process should be reciprocal and should be accompanied by the improvement of the working conditions of Soviet journalists in other countries.

Information Forum Concludes

LD1205222189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1509 GMT 12 May 89

[Reports by TASS correspondents Yuriy Levchenko and Vitaliy Chukseyev]

[Text] London, 12 May (TASS)— The London Information Forum, convened by decision of the Vienna meeting of representatives of the member-states of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, ended its work in the Queen Elizabeth II conference center today. This first international conference of its kind examined the possibilities for improving the dissemination of information, access to it, and the exchange of it; cooperation in the field of information and improving the conditions under which journalists work. About 500 delegates from 35 member-countries of the CSCE—representatives of governments and journalists—took part in the work of the forum.

The words of one of the delegates—"the saplings which were planted in Helsinki and which began to blossom in Vienna will soon bear their first fruit"—reflect accurately enough the mood of the delegates as they leave the forum. It is the general opinion that the meeting passed in a businesslike and constructive atmosphere. Its results are 70 specific proposals on all the issues that were under discussion. All of them have been attached to the material of the forum and will be handed over for consideration by the next conference within the framework of the all-European process in Helsinki in 1992.

When the forum had completed its work, the TASS correspondents spoke to the heads of the delegations of a number of countries and asked for their opinions on its results. "I cannot remember any international conference of this type in recent years ending on such a favorable note as the present information forum," said B.D. Pyadyshev, leader of the Soviet delegation. At the concluding plenary sessions virtually everyone who spoke deemed it necessary to stress the businesslike and constructive atmosphere of the discussion, during which there were flashes of sharpness but where the main thing that determined the discussion was the willingness of all delegations to listen to the arguments of each other, to understand them, and to try to find a solution to problems by joint efforts. In the view of the Soviet delegation the main result of the forum was the intense discussion, filled with high-quality ideas, and also the proposals put forward by the delegations and the journalists. As a result of the discussions a solid package of these proposals and initiatives has been formed which could serve as a sound system of coordinates for working out in the forthcoming period practical measures for developing cooperation between the member states of the CSCE in the information sphere, including, of course, questions concerning the improvement of conditions for the professional activities of journalists both in their own countries and in foreign states. The thing now is to analyze carefully and think through the material of the London discussions and to set about the practical implementation of the ideas and proposals expressed at the forum, many of which are of undoubted interest."

Here is the opinion of the U.S. delegation, which published its concluding statement today: "The London Information Forum has been a considerable landmark in the CSCE process. This is the first meeting of its kind devoted specially to questions of information and the obligations contained in the documents of Helsinki, Madrid, and Vienna. Much attention during the discussion was paid to the working conditions of journalists. We have also studied the question of how other forms of communication between different countries can be improved. Although the main obstacles on the path of the free exchange of information are explained by political reasons, some of them are the result of bureaucratic interference. Many proposals that have been put forward by member countries concern these issues. We will study them carefully before the next meeting in Helsinki. In connection with the questions raised by many countries with regard to delays with the issuing of visas to journalists and restrictions on movement which hamper their work, the head of the delegation, Ambassador L. Marks, will recommend that the secretary of state take a fresh look at our policy in this field."

Lord Rees-Mogg, the head of the delegation of the host-country, Great Britain, who chaired the concluding plenary session of the forum, called the results of the forum "very good." In an interview given to the TASS correspondents he said: "The forum is a real breakthrough in relations between East and West. Journalists concerned about the professional problems that they have in common spoke in one language and at times it was difficult to say which country they were speaking on behalf of. Many journalists from different countries were bold in their criticism of the situation at home. A new mood in Europe, a genuine consensus with regard to information problems, was displayed in London. This does not extend equally to all countries, but the problems that divide us are not so serious. As the leader of the British delegation I call upon my own government to continue this process. In my view an intermediate conference on information problems should be held along the road that separates London from Helsinki where the next all-European meeting will take place in 1992. The same kind of continuity that has been estabished in other areas of the all-European process should be secured in the information field."

Belonogov Addresses UN Nongovernmental Groups

LD1105162189 Moscow TASS in English 1454 GMT 11 May 89

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Maslov]

[Text] New York May 11 TASS—(?The three)-day forum of representatives from non-governmental organisations opened at the United Nations Headquarters on Wednesday to discuss the U.N. role in promoting disarmament and strengthening international security.

The meeting held under the aegis of the U.N. Department for Disarmament is being attended by prominent diplomats and experts in peaceful use of space, nuclear tests control, production of weapons grade fissionable materials and other fields of disarmament.

The Soviet delegation includes space research expert Academician Roald Sagdeyev and representatives from the Soviet U.N. Assistance Association and several other peace organisations.

Mary Beth Reiffen, president of the Non-governmental Organisations Disarmament Committee at U.N. Committee Headquarters, said she was glad that many prominent Soviet and U.S. representatives were participating in the meeting.

Activists from non-governmental organisations, justly called public diplomats, will have meetings with U.N. officials and delegates to the on-going session of the U.N. Disarmament Commission.

Many representatives of the American public are attending the forum to hear disarmament experts.

The meeting will analyse the U.N. role in arms control and setting tasks for public diplomacy in this sphere, Reiffen said.

The logic of international development, the increasing interdependence of states and the maturing unity of our civilisation dictates the need to devise a new model of security, Soviet permanent representative to the United Nations Aleksandr Belonogov told the meeting.

Military build-up cannot make a power invincible in the space age, he said.

Genuine security can now only be provided through a compromised build-down rather than a build-up, he said.

Force and the threat of force cannot and must not be instruments of foreign policy. Political and legal rather than military means are now crucial in solving problems, Belonogov said, calling for an intensive, open and concerted political dialogue.

Further world progress can be achieved only through a common human consensus in the movement toward a new world order, through joint effort of all states, the Soviet representative said.

Madrid Talks on East-West Trade Viewed

PM1105161589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

["IZVESTIYA Interview" with V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry Presidium, by own correspondent V. Vernikov in Madrid; "Preventing Trade Barriers"—date not given]

[Text] A representative international symposium, "Economic Relations Between East and West in the New Conditions," has been held in Madrid organized by the international council for new initiatives in east-west economic cooperation. In a conversation with your IZVESTIYA correspondent, V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry Presidium, talked about its results.

[Malkevich] The Madrid symposium has one feature that makes it different from all previous symposiums. It discussed East-West economic cooperation after 1992, when a single European market is going to appear within the framework of the EEC. The fears we have—and not without reason—are these: Will Western Europe not become a "Eurofortress," will it not be bristling with customs barriers, and will it not create obstacles in the way of developing economic ties between East and West? I must say that these problems are worrying our allies in Europe and other members of CEMA, although detente in Europe now seems clear.

In principle, economic measures cannot be as swift as political decisions. That is why the development of East-West economic relations is once again seen lagging behind against a background of dynamic political action. The present meeting of Western captains of business, decisionmakers from the CEMA countries, representatives of the business world, and leaders of the foreign economic sphere is intended to bridge this gap. That is the crux of the matter. So what precisely is being done? For our part, we are drafting customs regulations which will come into force no later than 1 January 1991. And this year we will be introducing customs statistics, which is commonplace for other countries but an event for us. A system of licensing export and import operations and registering all parties to foreign economic ties has already been introduced.

Businessmen in the West clearly do not want to see Europe (Western Europe) turned into a fortress and envisage the drafting of normative acts to regulate relations with countries that are not EEC members. Our own policy of rapprochement follows this same course, envisaging our full participation in the work of GATT, the IMF, and other international organizations. Here in Madrid—and it is very important to point this out—prominent Western industrialists have spoken openly in favor of our joining GATT as soon as possible. One can assume from this that they will use their influence with their respective governments, which will help to speed up the process.

[Vernikov] Will we be able to take part in broad East-West cooperation with our nonconvertible ruble? Or are we intending to have a convertible ruble by 1992?

[Malkevich] No, that is not possible. I think the earliest we can have a convertible ruble is 1995. But convertibility can be partial, you know, and the process has already begun this year. For example, we are conducting foreign currency transactions for the first time—and our Western partners have learned of this with interest—in which there will be a free exchange of currency at a rate resulting naturally from supply and demand. If an enterprise or cooperative has a lot of rubles, it can exchange them for foreign currency at the prevailing rate: For dollars, lire, marks, and so forth. This is the first serious step in the direction of creating a convertible ruble. The next step, I feel, is that when the domestic market is saturated with food and consumer goods the convertibility of the ruble may be achieved in the form of a transferable ruble—in other words, it could be converted into the currency of socialist countries for the purchase of production means. These are all questions of the phased transition to a convertible ruble and, of course, as a working hypothesis it would mean the creation of economic zones: In Vyborg for the present and, obviously, in Nakhodka. There might even be some point in introducing a kind of gold coin there, that is, a convertible ruble with limited conversion within a definite geographical zone.

[Vernikov] How do matters stand with the establishment of joint enterprises, and what do we intend to do to get the West interested in setting up these enterprises? After all, this is one real way of expanding trade....

[Malkevich] The situation here is complex. By our standards, things are not too bad—there are 360 joint enterprises, although a considerably smaller number is actually working—around 30 percent. But by Western standards this is nothing, of course. The most important thing is that the situation with the direct investment of capital is going badly: just a few tens of millions of dollars, because our Western partners are showing caution and restraint. You can understand how they feel: The cadre situation in our country is bad, we do not know how to run things, and we are not familiar with the market. Material and technical supply leaves much to be desired. These are the problems faced by joint enterprises. But there is no doubt that this is a promising area. Traditional trade is also developing: We have overcome stagnation, we can already see an upsurge in relations with our main partners—the FRG, Britain, and other countries—and things are not going too badly with India. In general I am optimistic.

Problems Facing Soviet Emigrants to West Viewed

PM1105154989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[A. Lopukhin article: "Residence Permits: On the Problems of Immigration and Emigrants"]

[Text] Just as we measure the temperature in Celsius and the Americans measure it in Fahrenheit, so many aspects of life in the West have long been measured according to a scale of values different from our own. This has applied primarily to the vast area of human rights. However, now that the socialist and Western countries have signed the very same international declarations, pacts, and conventions, including the Final Document of the recent Vienna meeting, the concept of human rights and basic freedoms is becoming increasingly universal and recognized by the majority of the international community. Nevertheless, real changes in this sphere are proving harder and slower to achieve especially because many Western politicians are reluctant to abandon their old ideas—for example, the absolutization of civil rights and the disregard of social rights. Not to mention their unwillingness to admit the need for economic guarantees to back up political rights.

For example, to gauge the pace of our restructuring, the West uses a criterion which is, to be blunt, strange: Each month it scrupulously calculates the number of Soviet citizens who have left to take up permanent residence abroad. What comment can be made in that regard?

In 1988 a total of 108,000 Soviet citizens went abroad to take up permanent residence. Is that number large or small? By comparison, Britain has a population approximately one-fifth of ours, yet 213,000 people emigrated from there in 1986, twice as many as from our country last year.

On 1 January 1987 the USSR introduced amended rules governing entry and exit that eliminated many of the bureaucratic obstacles to the reunification of families. The "refusenik" problem, which for many years provided a pretext for accusing the USSR of violating human rights, has virtually disappeared. In 1988 the number of people refused exit for permanent residence was just 0.7 percent of the total number of Soviet citizens who went abroad—and that was mainly due to the possession of state secrets. But difficulties have now appeared in the West, where they were unprepared for the changes in the USSR. As one West European diplomat told THE WASHINGTON POST: "They turned the tables on us."

Until quite recently, if people leaving the USSR were not greeted with open arms in the West, then they were at least made welcome there, but now the situation has changed appreciably. In the United States, for example, until last summer everyone leaving our country was automatically granted "refugee" status, which confers the right to state aid (more than $1,000 per person, including money for English language lessons) and facilitates the process of ultimately obtaining U.S. citizenship.

For almost 1 year now, U.S. immigration officials have been rejecting after interviews around 70 percent of our citizens who apply for "refugee" status for being unable to show a "valid fear of persecution" in the Soviet Union, as THE NEW YORK TIMES writes. You can imagine the problems faced by those who now claim the privileged status of "refugees" in the United States. What persecution do they have to hide from in the West?

Not only does the problem of emigration from the USSR today no longer yield the propaganda dividends that it used to, but it even leads to all kinds of complications for the host countries. In view of the large U.S. budget deficit, for example, an influx of "unplanned" immigrants is an additional strain on the country's finances.

Recently Senator Alan Simpson, Republican from Wyoming, told TIME magazine: "We are on the verge of a gigantic immigration crisis."

The United States has on a number of occasions tried to limit the flow of immigrants. For example, a 1965 law gives entry preference to those people who have members of their families already living in the United States. Millions of people are living in the country illegally in fear of deportation. An underground economy has even formed: According to the figures for 1986, around 5 million illegal immigrants were working for 400,000 American employers, who get rich on the illegal immigrants' lack of rights.

Washington is now reviewing its immigration policy again. The most conflicting views are being expressed. Some believe the doors should be kept open. The average age in America is rising, the birthrate is falling, and so an injection of good fresh blood is needed. Often you meet purely pragmatic views that are typically American: Only admit useful people whose arrival "would benefit U.S. national interests."

For instance, a law has been proposed that will give preference to immigrants with valuable professional skills, a high level of education, and a good knowledge of English. Such people, it is said, will find it easier to settle down and acclimatize themselves to U.S. life. In actual fact, this is a blatant effort to replenish the nation's intellectual potential at the expense of other peoples.

Our press has begun writing noticeably less about the living conditions of immigrants in the United States recently, so it is worthwhile quoting an extract from an article in THE NEW YORK TIMES of 21 March:

" 'For the new wave of Soviet Jewish immigrants, the majority of whom are highly qualified specialists, the main problem is the "crushing disappointment" they feel when they realize how long it will take them to regain their former status, if indeed they ever do,' says Gloria Tsikht [name as transliterated], social services director of the New York Association for New Americans. 'In addition, the new arrivals are afraid of New York, with its troubled subways and streets, which they have seen in the movies and read about. And they are shocked by the high cost of housing, medicine, and religious instruction in our country.'"

However, the waiting line for exit visas at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow is not diminishing. Not because of an increase in the number of people wanting to go to the United States, though. According to an AP report, around 26,000 Soviet citizens, mainly Jews and Armenians, are awaiting permission to enter the United States. Some 7,000 of them have already left the USSR and are now living in temporary settlements in the Rome area. But they must wait a long time for an answer—1-2 years.

The immigrants' situation is becoming worse in the FRG, too, where more than 47,000 Soviet citizens of German nationality went last year along with 160,000 people from other countries. The resettlement camps are overflowing. Approximately one-third of those who arrived in the FRG in the past 2 years have not found work.

At the end of April the West German press reported on the government's plans to cut spending on aid to ethnic Germans migrating to the FRG from the socialist countries. It is planned, for example, to cut the unemployment allowance paid to immigrants and limit the payment to 12 months. Describing the immigrants' situation as paradoxical, the STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG writes that for several decades official Bonn had unsuccessfully demanded complete freedom of emigration for the ethnic Germans living in the socialist countries. But when the first 100,000 arrived in the FRG it emerged that there wasn't enough housing. The Federal Republic, the lands, and the municipalities are working slowly to improve the housing situation. Heightened attention to immigrants harms the interests of various groups of the FRG population and arouses their discontent. The newspaper concludes that the wave of ethnic Germans from the East has not only helped increase the popularity of the right-wing radical parties, but has also highlighted the bankruptcy of the government's policy in the face of complex and large-scale problems.

All this fuels a negative attitude to immigrants. According to the findings of an opinion poll conducted by BILD, 82 percent of West Germans support the slogan "Foreigners Out." The question of limiting the influx of immigrants is being debated in the country. The FRG Government recently resorted to a 1952 law under which immigrants will henceforth be distributed equally among the lands, and not according to where their relatives live, as was the case until recently. This distorts the very principle of the reunification of families, which is the basis for the resettlement of people.

Passions still run high about immigrants in Britain, which invited them in from Commonwealth countries back in the sixties. The number of split up families in that country runs into the thousands, and at one time a floating prison was even set up for the so-called "illegal" immigrants. Racial tension is increasing in France and neofascists like Le Pen are exploiting that fact. In Israel concern of a different type can be seen. As the "new repatriate" G. Geyshis [name as transliterated] said on Israeli Radio recently, "people get bad letters from Israel describing the problems that exist here. People are simply afraid to come..."

Present-day international experience shows that the immigration problem is extremely difficult. But it must not be resolved by propaganda exercises but by the expansion of cooperation, notably at an international level. The international documents on humanitarian questions signed by the majority of the world's countries commit them to that.

The well-known Spanish political and public figure Joaquin Ruis Jimenes has called the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the "most beautiful unfinished symphony."

As for the Soviet Union, our country firmly intends to fully implement its international commitments in the sphere of contacts among people. Recently we have been strengthening our links with our fellow countrymen abroad, of whom there are 20 million. In particular, the question of the participation in voting by people with dual citizenship is being examined, and work is almost complete on a new legislative act on entry to and exit from the USSR that will be in full accord with all the international agreements signed in the humanitarian cooperation sphere.

United States & Canada

Reportage, Comment on Bush's Texas A & M Speech

Fitzwater Previews Speech

LD1205161189 Moscow TASS in English 1547 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Washington May 12 TASS—U.S. President George Bush leaves today on a one-day trip to Texas to deliver a major speech at the local university. Observers expect that his speech will spell out the attitude of the current U.S. Administration to East-West relations and to the Soviet Union.

Official spokesmen of the administration stressed as early as last week that Bush's speech in Texas would become a policy statement. According to White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater, it would reflect the conclusions of that important part of the foreign policy analysis which is connected with the Soviet Union. He said that the speech would set out the President's views on how the United States should approach its policy towards the Soviet Union, his views on glasnost and perestroyka.

A number of processes are taking place in the Soviet Union now, Fitzwater said, which change the nature of relations between the two states. President Reagan held five summit meetings with Mikhail Gorbachev to discuss bilateral relations, regional conflicts, arms control and human rights with a frankness which was impossible in the past. Even commentaries in most U.S. newspapers make it clear that the stage was set for totally different East-West relations, the spokesman said.

Speech Outlined

LD1205214289 Moscow TASS in English 2133 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Washington May 13 TASS—U.S. President George Bush delivered a speech at Texas University on Friday, largely devoted to the state and prospects of Soviet-U.S. relations. Bush recalled that one of the graduates of the university, "A young lieutenant by the name of Albert Kotzebue was the first American soldier to shake hands with the Soviets at the banks of the Elbe River." "Once again," the President said, "we are ready to extend our hand. Once again, we are ready for a hand in return. Once again, it is a time for peace."

"We seek a friendship that knows no season of suspicion, no chill of distrust," Bush stressed.

The head of the White House said his administration had completed the review of Soviet-U.S. relations it began this January on coming into office. [sentence as received] The review, the President said, showed the need for a new policy for the 1990s "that recognizes the full scope of change taking place around the world, and in the Soviet Union itself."

"As the Soviet Union moves toward greater openness and democratization...we will match their steps with steps of our own."

"As the Soviet Union moves toward arms reduction and reform, it will find willing partners in the West," the President said.

Bush stressed the "sincere desire to see perestroika continue and succeed." "But," he added, "the national security of America and our allies is not predicated on hope. It must be based on deeds. We look for enduring, ingrained economic and political change."

"We seek verifiable, stabilizing arms control and arms reduction agreements with the Soviet Union and its allies," the President continued. "However, arms control is not an end in itself, but a means of contributing to the security of America, and the peace of the world." Bush said he "directed Secretary Baker to propose to the Soviets that we resume negotiations on strategic forces in June. And, as you know, the Soviets have agreed."

"Our basic approach is clear," he stressed. "In the strategic arms reduction talks, we wish to reduce the risk of nuclear war."

At the same time Bush reiterated adherence to the so-called Strategic Defense Initiative which envisages the creation in space of antiballistic missile systems, which is banned by the Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty. The president said that "in the companion defense and space talks, our objective will be to preserve our options to deploy advanced defenses when they are ready." The reiteration of this position by the head of the U.S. Administration runs counter not only to the ABM accords but also to the conclusions of many leading U.S. specialists who believe that the SDI systems will not only fail to ensure the security of the United States but will also harm it because their deployment would lead to the arms race in space.

Bush expressed in general terms the U.S. readiness to promote the entry into force of existing treaties on limiting nuclear tests and the attainment of agreement on a "global ban" on chemical weapons.

On the problems of regional conflicts, he welcomed the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the agreement on settling the situation around Angola. "But there is much more to be done around the world," he said. "We're ready. Let's roll up our sleeves and get to work."

Bush's speech was described by the White House in advance as fundamental for the new administration in the arms control sphere, Soviet-U.S. relations and in East-West relations on the whole. However political observers noted that it did not contain any new specific initiatives or proposals. The only exception was the proposal to work out the "open skies" plan which provides for unarmed aircraft to fly over the territory of

NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries for the purpose of building up mutual trust. The President said he was ready to help lift discriminatory restrictions on trade with the Soviet Union, introduced by the United States in 1974. If the Soviet Union adopted legislation ensuring free emigration. He also spoke about the U.S. readiness to cooperate with the Soviet Union in the environmental protection, in combatting terrorism and drug trafficking.

Bush Speech Derided

PM1505082589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Following Old Recipes"]

[Text] Washington, 13 May—If there is truth in the proverb "You cannot expect perfection at the first attempt," then today's speech by U.S. President G. Bush seems to bear it out. For several days the White House tried to herald the speech of the White House incumbent at the Texas A & M University as "the first major speech on East-West relations." However, as even U.S. observers admit, it failed to live up to expectations.

On the whole, the President's speech contained little that is new. Those who compiled it were clearly unable to depart from old, primitive cliches. In his utterances Bush paints an America which has emerged victorious from the "historic postwar struggle" between "tyranny and conflict" and "democracy and freedom." Since this is so, "our aim is bold and more ambitious than any of my predecessors could have thought possible."

It emerges that the administration has decided to expand the limits [rasshirit ramki] of the containment of "Soviet expansionism" and seek "the integration of the Soviet Union into the community of nations." The word "seek" seems hardly appropriate here, since Bush said that we would have to "earn" this integration. How? Before answering this question, the president deemed it possible to praise the Soviet reforms and to express the hope that they will be crowned with success. However, he went on, America's security and that of its allies must be based on actions rather than hopes. This means that it is necessary "to persuade the Soviet Union that it is not possible to obtain any advantages by means of expansionism—the advantages lie on the path of peace."

Then the president listed what the USSR will have to do to gain Washington's favor. The demands cited by Bush essentially boil down to the USSR's complete subordination to the model elaborated for it on the Potomac. Apart from severing relations with countries such as Cuba, Nicaragua, and Libya, and meeting Japan's territorial claims, we are to reduce our Armed Forces "to the legitimate needs of security." As defined by the United States, of course. The president insisted on the removal of the "iron curtain" and the granting of "self-determination to all states in Eastern and Central Europe." Regional conflicts featured as item number three on Bush's program. The Soviet Union is being told here "to roll up its sleeves" and "together with the West" seek diplomatic solutions to regional disputes—as if Washington, which is, for instance, thwarting a political settlement between Kabul and the opposition armed with U.S. missiles, was thinking about nothing but peace.

Bush's utterances on the most topical problem of the day—curbing the arms race—are not based on a very original idea either. Making much of his desire "to reduce the threat of nuclear war," the president nonetheless completely ignores the USSR's peace-loving initiatives. He is a long way off reacting to the new Soviet steps or submitting his own proposals.

Presenting America as the only champion of disarmament, the president demanded that the Soviet Union alone take action.

However that may be, they are ready to reward us for "cooperation." Even if not "gratis" in this case either. If, in addition to all the aforementioned demands, the Soviet Union writes U.S. emigration stipulations into its legislation, then the White House will examine the matter of provisionally suspending the discriminatory amendment which has been blocking normal bilateral trade all these years.

Bush's speech today received precisely the notices which it deserves. Observers in the capital declared instantly that it bears no comparison with the statement of M.S. Gorbachev, who put forward new Soviet initiatives for unilateral disarmament. It has long been predicted that the foreign policy analysis carried out by the administration would be end up as a collection of platitudes. Judging by the president's speech, this is precisely what happened. No new, creatively bold, unorthodox proposals, no attempts to cast off the burden of well-worn stereotypes, no desire to try to seize the initiative from the USSR in the "peace offensive." Rhetoric and ultimatums cannot serve as the basis for the genuine advancement of the cause of peace, universal security, and cooperation. As L. Aspin, chairman of the influential House Armed Services Committee, noted quite correctly "it is not an effort to seize the initiative, but rather an attempt to hang in tight."

Dispatch Views Speech

PM1305190789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent A. Blinov under the "Panorama of International Events" rubric: "George Bush on USSR-U.S. Relations"]

[Text] Washington—President George Bush's speech on Soviet-American relations, delivered to students and lecturers at Texas A. & M. University, has generated extensive media response.

The address was conceived as a policy speech—George Bush covered this important sphere of U.S. foreign policy in detail for the first time—but it amounted predominantly to statements of a general nature and recommendations to the USSR.

Goerge Bush stated that he considers the doctrine of "containment" formulated in the United States at the beginning of the cold war to be successful. However, the review of U.S.-USSR relations that has now been completed within the administration indicates, he said, the need to take them beyond the bounds of that doctrine on to the "new path of the policy of the nineties."

Reminding the students that an alumnus of their university, Albert Kotzebue, was the "first U.S. soldier to shake hands with Soviets on the banks of the Elbe," Bush said: "Today we are again ready to extend our hand, ready again to receive a hand in return."

The U.S. President rated restructuring in the Soviet Union positively. He noted that a "wind of change is blowing through the steppes and cities of the Soviet Union" and that the "USSR speaks in favor of world peace." However, the concept of the development of Soviet-U.S. relations as formulated by Bush envisages only U.S. "reciprocal steps" to Soviet actions. According to the President, "the West will show readiness for partnership" if the Soviet side takes account of its wishes in matters of foreign policy. Such recommendations include: "the reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces," "support for the self-determination of East and central Europe" (?!), "ensuring stable pluralism and respect for human rights," and "participation in solving global problems, including the fight against drugs and nature protection."

The President cited the American side's agreement to the resumption of talks with the USSR to halve both countries' strategic nuclear arsenals, which had previously been postponed on its initiative, as an example of U.S. readiness to take "reciprocal steps." As for talks on space armaments, according to Bush, the United States intends to conduct them in such a way as to "retain the potential to deploy forward [peredovyye] defensive systems when they are ready." On another set of talks, those on nuclear tests, the United States wants merely to restrict them to the topic of improving methods of monitoring the implementation of the existing "threshold" agreements. As the President sees it, the talks on conventional arms should serve to "reduce the threat of a Soviet offensive."

George Bush proposed reviving the "Open Skies" plan proposed way back by President Eisenhower, which envisages the organization of reciprocal flights by NATO and Warsaw Pact reconnaissance planes over Soviet and U.S. territory. "These reconnaissance flights will, in addition to satellites, enable each side to carry out systematic observations," Bush stated.

Regarding economic ties with the USSR, the President stated that the administration is ready to take steps in conjunction with Congress toward a temporary waiver of the discriminatory restrictions in the sphere of Soviet-U.S. trade existing under the Jackson-Vanik Amendment if the Soviet Union adopts new legislation in the sphere of emigration and starts putting it into practice. Moreover, Bush considers that the USSR should overcome its discriminatory approach (?!) toward American firms.

The speech produced bewildered questions from American commentators: By all accounts, the approximately 3-month-long review of the state of Soviet-U.S. relations has not proven so productive in the sphere of new initiatives in the military sphere and collaboration between our two countries. As the U.S. media note, the President declined to respond to recent major Soviet initiatives, particularly those discussed during the visit to Moscow that U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has just completed.

"For all his new vision of the future Bush is pursuing a defensive line of conduct in the face of such diplomatic initiatives by Gorbachev as the proposal to cut conventional arms and the steps to reduce tactical nuclear weapons arsenals," stated CBS White House correspondent W. Andrews. According to this well-known television journalist, the administration's passivity is acknowledged even by White House staffers, who consider, among other things, that in these conditions the "United States will find it increasingly difficult to maintain its leading role vis-a-vis its allies, who are increasingly well disposed in their response to Soviet proposals."

Prominent U.S. legislator Les Aspin, who heads the House Armed Services Committee, noted that the White House "has been unable to retrieve the lost initiative."

Press and television are questioning the "Open Skies" plan revived by Bush. According to ABC Pentagon correspondent B. Plant, many people in the U.S. military department think that it is of no practical value, given existing reconnaissance satellites. As is well known, the "Open Skies" plan was proposed by the administration 29 years back, following the incident when a U-2 plane was found in the skies above the Soviet Union. It has never been discussed on a practical plane.

Bush 'Duplicity' Noted

LD1405053189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2147 GMT 13 May 89

["International Diary", presented by Aleksandr Korshunov]

[Excerpts] U.S. President Bush made his long-awaited speech at the University of Texas, in which he set out the main trends in U.S. foreign policy, particularly the U.S. approach toward Soviet relations. Bush said that his administration has completed the analysis begun in January, following the new U.S. leadership's assumption of power. At first glance the President's speech did not contain anything particularly innovative. [passage omitted]

Hiding behind some of the utterances which appeared to contain the customary formulae, however, was a clearly discernible desire for unilateral advantage. For example, the President said that as the USSR progresses along the path of reform and disarmament, it will find partners in the West that are ready to cooperate. Just look! We are talking about progress on the part of just the Soviet Union. There was no mention of any corresponding progress on the part of our partners, which is in general an indispensable condition for dialogue, to say nothing of the disarmament process.

There is another contradiction in the approach to the problem of strategic offensive weapons. On the one hand it is claimed that they must be cut, but on the other hand in his speech in Texas the U.S. President confirmed the United States' devotion to the Star Wars program, which provides for an ABM system to be deployed in space, in circumvention of the relevant Soviet-U.S. treaty of 1972.

A notorious duplicity is characteristic of the President's statements on regional conflicts. For example, George Bush welcomed the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and declared his readiness to roll up his sleeves and get down to joint work in the cuase of a diplomatic settlement to regional conflicts. But if he had Afghanistan in mind, then don't the Geneva accords provide the foundation for a diplomatic settlement? Incidentally, somehow there is no sign of sleeves being rolled up in the causes of putting an end to the civil war in the republic and Pakistan's interference in Afghan affairs and, finally, of a U.S. renunciation of support for the opposition. [passage omitted]

Bush's Alcorn State University Speech Discussed

LD1405072589 Moscow TASS in English 0658 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Washington May 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Nikolay Orekhov:

U.S. President George Bush addressed the graduates of Alcorn State University, Mississippi, on Saturday [13 May].

Briefly touching upon the problems of American-Soviet relations, Bush reiterated the main theses of his policy-setting remarks on this subject as Texas University on Friday.

"Now is is time to move beyond containment, to a new policy for the 1990s—one that recognizes the full scope of change taking place around the world, and in the Soviet Union itself", the President said.

He said that, as the Soviet Union makes headway towards greater openness and democratisation and its actions increasingly meet the norms of responsible international conduct, the United States, for its part, will match its steps to every step of the USSR.

More Reportage on Secretary Baker's Moscow Visit

PRAVDA Analyst Cited

LD1305093789 Moscow TASS in English 0749 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—The visit of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker III to Moscow on May 10-11 provided an opportunity "to compare for the first time the viewpoints of the Soviet leadership and the new U.S. Administration on basic issues of Soviet-U.S. relationships," PRAVDA'S political news analyst Arkadiy Maslennikov writes today.

The analysis of the prospects for a further development of Soviet-American relations in the light of the perestroyka drive in the USSR, and also problems of security and disarmament which are the cause of concern for all were central to the participants in the talks.

"It is common knowledge that there has been a good deal of speculation in the United States and other Western countries concerning the character and future of Soviet perestroyka, behind which is not only an inadequate understanding of the essence of the problem but frequently political scheming aimed to undermine trust in our country's policy", the author points out.

"This is the reason why in responding to the American guest's request, Mikhail Gorbachev deemed it necessary to give during the meeting held between them a detailed description of the current stage in perestroyka in all of its key aspects—economic, political, social and cultural. Without concealing difficulties and contradictions of the present moment, the Soviet leader voiced confidence in the success of perestroyka which increasingly modifies Soviet society".

The commentary emphasises that during this fundamentally important talk Gorbachev informed the U.S. secretary of state about the new major Soviet proposals and initiatives aimed to lower military confrontation in Europe, including a drastic reduction, down to the level of defence sufficiency, in the armed forces and armaments of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO, and also a unilateral cut in Soviet nuclear munitions in Europe.

The USSR'S new initiative, which drew wide response the world over, provides for the withdrawal from allies' territory of 50 warheads of tactical nuclear systems in 1989.

The Soviet side proposed getting down to drafting a bilateral agreement on the verified cessation of the production of all weapons-grade fissionable materials, expressed readiness to stop any nuclear explosions on the basis of reciprocity, and make a joint statement reflecting a principles attitude of the USSR and the United States to the need to eliminate chemical weapons and halt their production.

During the talk with Baker Gorbachev said that the modernisation of battlefield nuclear weapons, planned by Washington, is the cause of particular concern not only for the Soviet Union but also for Europe as a whole. He invited the U.S. Administration to a substantive exchange of views on this score, to work toward removing, on a mutual basis, nuclear weapons from Europe altogether.

"The U.S. side's reaction to all these proposals differed. For instance, concerning the proposal for eliminating chemcial weapons, Baker limited himself to the wish to return to this issue at the level of experts in the runup to the respective talks.

"His stance on the negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons appeared to be even less constructive. Speaking at the news conference in Moscow Baker stated that the United States can consider the issue of talks only after drastic cuts in this type of weapons by the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. He said: 'There is a significant imbalance in favour of the Warsaw Pact with these weapons'.

"All this certainly does not mean that no progress was reached at the Moscow meetings and talks. The consultations held were useful, as both sides said, not only in terms of forming first personal contacts between the USSR'S leaders and representatives of the new Washington Administration. They enabled the sides to reach several specific accords.

"Baker's visit to Moscow made possible the resumption of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue and move off dead centre the talks on major international issues, which seemed to have been freezed", Maslennikov concluded.

Baker Visit Viewed

LD1305002989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2047 GMT 12 May 89

[From the "International Diary" program, presented by Aleksandr Malikov]

[Text] Has there been a warming-up this May of Soviet-U.S. relations and, consequently, is there hope of a further warming-up of the general political climate? I think this question or roughly this question is now arising with many people after the visit to Moscow by James Baker, U.S. secretary of state. Certainly the United States's Western European allies will be asking themselves this after meeting with him in Brussels on his way home.

In analyzing the results of Baker's trip, let us remember that hopes must not outstrip reality, and the reality is that the U.S. Administration is continuing the political dialogue with us in a circumspecet fashion, or, as Washington says, with caution. The imprint of such an approach lies, too, on George Bush's speech at the University of Texas. However, I think that one cannot only put down to caution Washington's reluctance to seriously discuss a total removal of nuclear armaments from European soil or a third zero, that is, the total elimination of tactical nuclear missiles in Europe. One gets the impression that Washington and certain of its NATO allies have canonized the deterrent force of nuclear weapons, keeping it just like a stone hidden in its bosom and not wanting to part with it. At any rate, after meeting with Baker, the NATO people said no to the Soviet proposal to withdraw on a reciprocal basis all Soviet and U.S. nuclear ammunition from European territory by 1991. They also attempted to play down the significance of another constructive proposal, the proposal to unilaterally return to our territory 500 tactical nuclear system warheads from our allies' territories before the end of this year. Judging from their statement, this measure seems insufficient to them. True, it should be said for objectivity's sake that the NATO allies have on the whole reacted more flexibly to the peaceful Soviet proposals in the sphere of the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces, although this was not without certain reservations and in some respects a retreat to a waiting position.

If one attempts to generalize what has been said, it is not difficult to see that the initiative for tackling priority issues that are of concern to mankind is again coming from Moscow and not from Washington. However, one thing is indisputable, namely that Soviet-U.S. relations are now entering into a further important and crucial phase.

Bovin Commentary

LD1405084389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 13 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video talk by IZVESTIYA political observer Aleksandr Bovin]

[Text] Hello comrades: James Baker's visit to Moscow has been covered thoroughly both by television and the newspapers. I will not repeat what all of you already know. I will only venture to add just a few interesting lines by way of realism, as it were.

Setting off for Moscow Baker defined the task thus: Our policy must consist of putting the new Soviet thinking to the test again and again; or find another way of executing this same test. We want to carry out a check on the new thinking over the whole range of Soviet-U.S. relations. It is almost as if the government inspector, Gogol-style, is coming to our country to examine our intentions.

Bush's [as heard] interlocutors in Moscow are official and very polite people. They keep silent on this matter of course.

As a journalist I assess these pronouncements as political tactlessness, to put it mildly, because in Soviet-U.S. relations there are no people doing the checking nor people being checked, and there cannot be. If one is to talk in such terms then both sides are undergoing a test of their sense of reality, common sense, and degree of responsibility. And from this point of view the lengthy pause in Washington has not unfortunately led to any substantial results and Baker arrived in Moscow with little in the way of heavy luggage.

American newspapers have been writing about Baker bringing Bush's stamp to Moscow to place it on Soviet-U.S. relations, as it were. What does this stamp consist of? Firstly, the Americans, as they say, have agreed that we are their equals in resolving the Near East conflict and the conflict in Central America. Well, thanks to them for that, of course. The only thing is that it is not a matter of U.S. agreement but of our actual political influence and our national interests which are determined not in Washington but in Moscow. Secondly, the second element of Bush's stamp is the moving apart [razdvizheniye]—he has moved apart [razdvinyl] the agenda of Soviet-U.S. relations. I shall add the fifth [as heard] point, that is global problems, the drugs business, ecology, and terrorism.

The London THE TIMES commented on this addition in an interesting manner. By including a new point, Washington wants to reduce the share of disarmament problems in the overall package of Soviet-U.S. relations. A little cunning to the taste of the Americans, then, but I want to hope that THE TIMES is nonetheless wrong and Washington does not have such intentions. But one has to admit that to date they still have not accepted one single specific proposal from us, and this was repeated in Moscow. They smile, as it were. They do not say no, but they don't say yes either.

So we shall believe that formally at least the pause in the Soviet-U.S. relations has ended with Baker's visit, but it seems to me that Washington still has to make some intellectual and political efforts to ensure that there are no failures at the very beginning of the new round of Soviet-U.S. relations. We shall hope for this. We shall await the talks and the transition from words to deeds.

President Bush Calls for Ouster of Noriega

LD1405071689 Moscow TASS in English 0712 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Washington May 14 TASS—U.S. President George Bush on Saturday overtly called for an overthrow of General Noriega, commander-in-chief of the national defence forces of Panama.

"The Panamanian people ought to do everything they can to get him (Noriega) out", he told reporters travelling with him on Air Force One to Mississippi.

When a reporter told him his words could be seen as a call to revolution or violent overthrow, Bush did not temper his remarks, the ASSOCIATED PRESS news agency reported.

"No, I would add no words of caution. I would love to see them (the Panamanian defence forces) get him out. The will of the people should be implemented", he said.

U.S. Troops Dispatched to Panama Canal Zone

LD1205213489 Moscow TASS in English 2129 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Washington May 13 TASS—A large-scale operation to move a large contingent of U.S. troops into the Panama Canal Zone started on Friday. A C-5 Galaxy military-transport aircraft took off from Travis Air Force Base in California with 50 troops from the Army's Seventh Light Infantry division with full combat equipment, as well as transportation and other equipment. These are the first out of the 1,900 U.S. combat soldiers to arrive in the Panama Canal Zone in the framework of Nimrod Dancer Operation. President Bush announced on Thursday the decision to send a large troop contingent to Panama to reinforce the 10,000 U.S. troops stationed there. As a pretext Bush pointed to the need to protect security of American citizens in Panama in conditions that formed in that country following the presidential elections.

Shevardnadze Cited on Baker's Mideast Approach

PM1205154589 London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 12 May 89 pp 1,2

[Sami 'Imarah Report: "Shevardnadze: We Will Continue Consultations Over Middle East Peace]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Soviet Foreign Minister Sheverdnadze has told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that the matter of Middle East peace emerged during the talks with Baker. Answering a question which we addressed to him, he said: "We agreed with Mr Baker to let consultations over a settlement in the Middle East assume a form of continuity. There will be permanent representatives in the Soviet and U.S. diplomatic organs. They will meet periodically to conduct their consultations in that respect." He added: The Soviet Union and the United States are proceeding from the need to work toward a comprehensive, just settlement to the Middle East problem—which is the ultimate objective. The U.S. secretary of state has positively announced his support for the international conference on the Middle East. You know the Soviet position on the international conference, which does not rule out bilateral contacts and dialogue between the parties concerned with the conflict. We agreed on the need to thoroughly examine the Arab states' stances and those offered by the PLO leadership. We do not reject the overviews proposed by the Israeli prime minister, despite the many unclear points they contain. In fact they probably contain more unclear than clear points. Nevertheless, we agreed to study what the Israeli leadership is proposing carefully and look for the points of agreement in order to develop the dialogue among the parties concerned. What is important is that we are firmly determined to initiate fruitful consultations on the Middle East problem and to continue these consultations, whether at the expert level or the ministerial level. [passage omitted]

Bush Visit to East European Countries Criticized

PM1205152589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Manki Ponomarev "International Observer Replies to Reader" article: "Looking for an Opportunity"]

[Text] Here is a question from Perm labor veteran R. Starygin:

"What is one to deduce from the brief report in the press of U.S. President G. Bush's upcoming visit to Poland and Hungary? Is it a normal protocol visit, or does the head of the U.S. Administration have some specific purpose in mind? And, anyway, the impression is that Washington has begun to pay special attention to East European countries. Why so?"

Yes, you are right, Rafail Vasilyevich, there has been a definite emphasis of late in the Washington Administration's activities in the international arena on stepping up relations with certain East European countries. One deduces this from articles in the U.S. press, from statements by a number of U.S. statesmen and politicians, from the report you noticed on G. Bush's visits to Warsaw and Budapest, planned for the latter half of July, and from certain other facts. What is the reason for this? And what is the purpose? Let us try to find out.

First of all one should stress that the socialist countries of Eastern Europe are going through a unique stage in their development. I mean the renewal of the socialist system and the uncovering of its potential through democratization and widening of the conditions of working people's actual involvement in running the economy and tackling political issues.

For objective and subjective reasons conditions differ in the different socialist countries. Naturally, the renewal process varies, too. Each country is tackling the problems that arise in its own way, on the basis of local peculiarities and its own notions, falling back on its own forms and methods of action. One should add to this the fact that in some of the East European countries—Poland and Hungary, for example—political and economic problems have become very acute. There is a definite tension in public life, the foreign debt is big, and inflation processes are developing.

Evidently those across the Atlantic have decided to take advantage of this. Certain people there want to feather their nests by interfering in the internal processes taking place in the European socialist countries, to sow discord among them, and weaken their unity and cohesion. In short, find a way of implementing the old imperialist "divide and rule" policy on the basis of the so-called "differentiated approach" to East European states and by resorting to the favorite "stick and carrot" method.

Conservative, reactionary U.S. circles are particularly avid. Former U.S. President R. Nixon is pressing the incumbent, G. Bush, to "devise a new strategy" to promote "change" and "political revolution in East Europe" by conducting a "policy of distinguishing between the East European regimes which are displaying a readiness to implement reforms to move their countries along the path of political pluralism and those which are not doing this." Essentially the same advice is given by a rather well-known figure, H. Kissinger, in a lengthy article in THE WASHINGTON POST, which we will be returning to.

It cannot be said that recommendations of this kind are unreservedly welcomed by Washington officials. But, obviously, they listen to them. This one can tell by the declared aim of G. Bush's visits to Poland and Hungary. The White House has publicly stated that these visits "will symbolize U.S. support for economic and political reforms in these two East European countries."

The nature of this "support" can be seen in the U.S. attitude to Poland. Many crocodile tears have been shed on the other side of the Atlantic over the difficult economic situation in that country, but they forget who bears considerable responsibility for it. Indeed, it was as a result of Washington's illegal "sanctions" and other discriminatory measures, which have been kept up throughout the eighties, that Poland suffered material damage alone amounting to $15 billion.

That was the "stick." Despite the burden it placed on the Polish people, it did not have the expected effect. It was then that the United States decided to resort, so to speak, to the "carrot."

Three weeks ago, without having formulated the basic principles and thrusts of his foreign policy, G. Bush saw fit to to deliver in the Detroit suburb of Hamtramck, where many people of Polish origin live, an essentially program speech on his attitute to that country. He talked about giving some economic aid to Poland (without mentioning, however, the damage done to it by U.S. policy and compensation for it). But the president then made the granting of aid dependent on a number of economic and even political conditions and orientation toward "Western values."

There is no doubt that Washington is attempting to drive a wedge between the socialist countries of Eastern Europe and change the correlation of forces on the continent. Bulgaria's RABOTNICHESKO DELO was right when it wrote that G. Bush is "very likely the first U.S. president to try to question the historical realities in Europe since World War II."

And this, perhaps, represents the main chance which the U.S. conservatives are looking so hard for in Europe. Their ultimate dream, Rafail Vasilyevich, is expressed, in my view, in the aforementioned article by H. Kissinger. This figure has always been known for his cynicism, but now, not having any official post, he feels free to say aloud things that others prefer to remain silent about. While completely misinterpreting the idea of creating a "common European home," which is so widely acknowledged, Kissinger is apparently prepared to acknowledge it. On one condition though—and what a condition! "The boundaries of this new Europe must extend," he writes, "from the Soviet-Polish border to the Atlantic, not from the Urals to the Atlantic."

There you have it, black on white: a "common European home" without the Soviet Union, apart from the Soviet Union, and—if he can manage it—against the Soviet Union. This is the chance they are looking for on the European continent, those who are simply incapable of abandoning the old macho, imperial, bloc-confrontational thinking.

Needless to say, in our day this policy cannot succeed. It can only hinder the achievement of positive results in the all-European process.

But it is not this policy that counts today. The new political thinking, based on balance of interests and freedom of choice, is increasingly determining the international situation. This is evidenced by the preliminary results of U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker's visit to Moscow. Let us hope that the exchange of views and accords reached during it will create new approaches in the solution of the problems that worry the peoples of Europe and the whole world.

Political Observer Assesses U.S.-Soviet Talks

LD1305140389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 13 May 89

[From the "Mayak Panorama" program; interview with Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, foreign political observer, by unidentified presenter; date, place of interview not given]

[Text] [Presenter] The subject of this part of the "Mayak Panorama" is the result of the Soviet-U.S. talks in Moscow. Political figures and the mass media have now started to analyze attentively the results of the dialogue. I think, esteemed listeners, that a view from Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, foreign political observer, will help you to understand the essence of certain problems which were on the agenda of the talks. So, the first question for you: What in your view are the most important results of the talks?

[Shishlin] The most imporant thing is that the Soviet-U.S. dialogue has been continued. It was virtually uninterrupted. But another matter is that the talks in Moscow have enriched the content of conversations between the Soviet Union and the United States and, of course, they give new breath to those political ties which have already entered firmly into the fabric of international life. It seems to me that today the Soviet-U.S. agenda has expanded, but the main thing is that during discussion of all problems on this agenda a really new factor emerges when we are moving more and more from confrontational mutual relations to relations of cooperation. And even on such a sharp and complex matter as regional conflicts, as is known, both Moscow and Washington have been trying to feel their way toward common approaches, common points of view. For all that, however, a great difference remains in how we appraise both the nature of regional conflicts and the means of overcoming regional conflicts. But in any event the striving in itself to find a common language, the striving together to promote the resolution of complex international problems which emerged, in particular, in the joint statement on Lebanon, this is a very good sign of the fact that continuity, in the good sense of that word—enriched by new developments and new ideas—this continuity is there to be seen.

[Presenter] Nikolay Vladimirovich, on the eve of the talks everybody was waiting for a report on whether the sides would reach agreement in talks on strategic offensive weapons, and it seems to me that there is an important achievement here also. The date for these talks has already been determined.

[Shishlin] I agree with that but I am deliberately talking about other problems which were discussed during the Soviet-U.S. conversations in Moscow and, in particular, at the meeting between the U.S. secretary of state and Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Why? Because in matters of limiting the arms race this is indeed a central issue on the Soviet-U.S. political agenda, but at the same time, alongside them, not the slightest bit less than them in terms of significance, stand other international problems. What I have mentioned, regional conflicts, or transnational problems as they were described at these talks—in essence they are global problems. Therefore, the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on cooperation in cleaning up expanses of sea which, strictly speaking, emerge on the shores of both the United States and the Soviet Union, may be outwardly modest, but it seems to me that this is a very promising step. As far as the talks on reducing strategic offensive weapons are concerned, I think that a good start has now been given to both these talks, which, incidentally, are called just that, START in English. Talks on chemical weapons, and on conventional weapons, and one has to say here—but, as far as tactical nuclear means are concerned, then of course a hitch took place here. [passage as heard]

[Presenter] What is the essence of the disagreement between the sides? I think that this question will be of interest to many of our listeners.

[Shishlin] There exists a clear asymmetry as far as the NATO and Warsaw Pact armed forces are concerned and, let's say, on tactical missiles equipped with nuclear charges, the numerical advantage is outwardly enormous on the side of the Warsaw Pact. The advantage is approximately sixteenfold. It would seem that the NATO members should jump at our proposal to go for a third zero, that is, a zero on tactical nuclear means. They are not in a hurry to latch on to this proposal because this means that there should be discussion on both such components of armed forces as sea-based nuclear means with a tactical radius of action, and there should be discussion of those means which are carried by aircraft. They are not in a hurry for this, the more so because you know that NATO plans to modernize these tactical nuclear means, and here of course very broad interests are involved. It would not be right to say that this is the position of NATO as an integral bloc, because each country has appraisals of its own. But I think that now it is not worth dramatizing the differences in approaches between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on this problem. I think that these differences themselves, these conflicts in our positions, these are grounds for reflection, grounds for seeking out new steps which can bring the positions closer. In this respect I think what was put forward during the conversation between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Baker is very valuable—all of these proposals for aligning the positions of the Warsaw Pact and NATO.

U.S. Aid Plan to Cambodian Opposition Questioned

OW1205195089 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 8 May 89

[Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] The U.S. Government should adapt its foreign policy to the recent changes that have taken place in Thailand. This was pointed out by a Thai paper while commenting on the results of U.S. Vice President Quayle's visit to Bangkok. Our station commentator Nikolayev notes the following in this regard:

Here we are talking about Washington's stand on providing military assistance to the Cambodian opposition factions. Recently, the plan of official U.S. representatives to supply weapons to the groups led by Sihanouk and Son Sann has run aground. U.S. Secretary of State Baker has written to Thai Foreign Minister Savetsila to notify Bangkok of this plan. Solarz, chairman of the U.S. Congressional Committee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, visited the Thai capital to sound out the reaction of the Thai leadership. According to a report in THE NATION, at that time Thai Prime Minister Chunhawan and Foreign Minister Sawetsila responded coldly to the proposal of the U.S. envoy. In his talks with the U.S. envoy, Chunhawan pointed out: Supplying the Cambodian opposition factions will only prolong the conflict in Cambodia. During the recent talks in Bangkok between U.S. Vice President Quayle and the Thai leaders, the U.S. official failed to win any support for the U.S. plan of providing military aid to the Cambodian opposition factions. On the contrary, the Thai prime minister called on all the sides concerned to step up their efforts to resolve the Cambodian issue as quickly as possible. He emphasized: The policy of Thailand and its neighbors is based on the intention of seeking peaceful cooperation.

We cannot but point out that the U.S. vice president also visited Jakarta. The authorities there also firmly opposed the U.S. plan of [words indistinct] to resolve the Cambodian issue. Alatas, Indonesian minister of foreign affairs, said: Providing military aid to the Cambodian opposition will not help to solve the conflict. Among the nations that have supplied weapons to the Cambodian opposition, people [words indistinct]. For example, on 3 May, Sihanouk announced at a press conference in Jakarta that France had ceased to supply weapons to his clique. At the Jakarta informal meeting on the Cambodian issue and the decision to withdraw all Vietnamese troops from Cambodia by the end of September this year. [sentence as heard] In May 1989, great progress was made in the talks between Hun Sen, head of the government of the state of Cambodia, and Sihanouk. All this enables us to say, with good foundation, that a solution to the Cambodian issue is imminent. The Bangkok paper THE NATION points out: The possibility of supplying military aid to the Cambodian opposition being discussed by authorities in Washington will only lead to trouble. This conclusion is certainly correct.

U.S.-Soviet Management Seminar Planned 6-8 Jun

18250155 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 7 May 89 p 3

[Report by T. Galyuk]

[Text] "3-M". This is the name of one of the largest industrial corporations in the United States. Its leaders have agreed to share their work experience in the area of management with Soviet executives, scholars, and management specialists.

This meeting will undoubtedly be interesting. This is shown by the list of subjects that are to be discussed with participants in the seminar: human resources corporations, personnel incentives, manager training; methods and organization of financial management; marketing and planning; principles and methods of organization of NIOKR [scientific research and experimental design work]; international operations.

The Soviet-American seminar on management issues will take place in Moscow from 6 through 8 June.

The seminar was organized by the State Committee for Science and Technology in conjunction with the Institute of Economics and the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

Information about registration for participants in the seminar can be obtained by telephone: State Committee for Science and Technology—229-66-65, Institute of World Economics and International Relations—120-91-66.

China

Gorbachev Begins China Visit, Summit Talks

Leaves Moscow for Beijing 14 May

LD1405074789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0630 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev left Moscow for Beijing today for an official visit at the invitation of Yang Shangkun, president of the PRC.

Eduard Shevardnadze, Politburo member and USSR foreign minister; Aleksandr Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Yuriy Maslyukov, alternate member of the Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and Yevgeniy Chazov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR health minister, who accompanied Gorbachev on the trip, left together with him.

At the airport, M.S. Gorbachev was seen off by V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye. Ligachev, V.A. Medvedev, N.I. Ryzhkov, and V.M. Chebrikov, members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.I Lukyanov, G.P. Razumovskiy, N.V. Talyzin, and D.T. Yazov, candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU; and other comrades.

Those seeing the delegation off included Zhong Zheng, the PRC's charge d'affaires in the USSR.

Meets Public During Irkutsk Stopover

LD1405124189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] We have just received a TASS announcement:

Today Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, made a working stopover in Irkutsk on his way for an official visit to the People's Republic of China.

We was met by Comrade Potapov, first secretary of the Irkutsk Oblast party committee, and Comrade Nozhikov, chairman of the Oblast Executive Committee, as well as by representatives of the public.

At the airport Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev had a warm conversation with working people.

Leaves Irkutsk for Beijing

LD1505013689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0115 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Irkutsk, 15 May (TASS)—M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, left Irkutsk today. He made a working stopover here on his way to Beijing, where he will pay an official visit at the invitation of Yang Shangkun, president of the PRC.

E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister; A.N. Yakovlev, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Yu.D. Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and Ye.I. Chazov, CPSU Central Committee member and USSR health minister, who are accompanying M.S. Gorbachev on the trip, left with him.

Arrives in Beijing; "Normalization" Seen

LD1505034989 Moscow TASS in English 0325 GMT 15 May 89

[Excerpt] Beijing May 15 TASS—By TASS special correspondent:

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in the capital of the People's Republic of China (PRC) at noon today for an official visit at the invitation of Yang Shangkun, president of the PRC.

It is emphasised here that this visit, which is first visit to China by a Soviet leader since 1959, signifies full normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations. [passage omitted]

Met by Yang Shangkun

LD1505055789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0508 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Beijing, 15 May—By TASS special correspondent:

The official visit to the PRC by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, began today at the invitation of Yang Shangkun, president of the PRC.

A great deal of significance is being accorded in the Chinese capital to this visit, the first to China by a Soviet leader since 1959.

Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, declared in connection with this that the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting is an event of major importance, and the attention of the whole world is riveted on it. The success of this meeting, he stressed, corresponds to the interests of the peoples of the two countries and favors peace and stability throughout the world.

In the course of his 4-day visit to the PRC, Mikhail Gorbachev will have a summit meeting with Deng Xiaoping, and negotiations with other Chinese leaders will be conducted. Gorbachev will also meet representatives of the Chinese public, see cultural and historical monuments, and visit Shanghai, China's major industrial center.

A solemn welcoming ceremony for Mikhail Gorbachev and his entourage was held at the capital's airport, which was adorned with the state flags of the two countries. At noon in Beijing, the Il-62 aircraft landed at the airport.

Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR foreign minister; Aleksandr Yakovlev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Yuriy Maslyukov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and Yevgeniy Chazov, USSR health minister, arrived together with Mikhail Gorbachev.

By the steps of the plane Mikhail Gorbachev and Raisa Gorbachev were met by Yang Shangkun, PRC president; Peng Chong, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Wu Xueqian and Tian Jiyun, vice-premiers of the PRC State Council; Qian Qichen, PRC foreign minister; and other officials. Among those in the welcoming party were Oleg Troyanovskiy, USSR ambassador to the PRC, and Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR.

Children gave the guests flowers. The national anthems of the two countries were played and a 21-gun salute was heard. The chief of the honor guard reported. The Soviet and the Chinese leader walked past the honor guard, composed of the three branches of the PRC Armed Forces.

The heads of state presented each other to Chinese and Soviet officials taking part in the meeting.

The ceremony at Beijing airport was broadcast on Chinese television.

The inhabitants of Beijing warmly welcomed Mikhail Gorbachev along the road from the airport to the Diaoyutai residence. The route went through areas of new housing construction.

The Soviet leader was escorted by Yang Shangkun.

Further on Arrival

LD1505042889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service at 0300 GMT on 15 May broadcasts a live relay from Beijing airport on Mikhail Gorbachev's arrival in the PRC. Correspondents Igor Charikov and Albert Papayan report that an honor guard, composed of three rows of troops, is on the runway awaiting Gorbachev's appearance.

"Mikhail Sergeyevich has appeared on the steps of the aircraft and is coming down," report the correspondents. They note that Yang Shangkun, president of the PRC; Peng Chong, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the Chinese National People's Congress; Wu Xueqian, vice-premier of the State Council; and Qian Qichen, PRC foreign minister; are at the airport to greet Gorbachev. Yang Shangkun is the first to greet Gorbachev.

Gorbachev then greets the other PRC officials. Flowers are presented to him.

USSR Ambassador Oleg Troyanovskiy's presence is noted, in addition to representatives from the Soviet Embassy.

Gorbachev and Yang Shangkun then approach the microphones. The Soviet national anthem is played and fireworks can be heard. The Chinese national anthem is also played.

The head of the honor guard approaches Gorbachev and Yang Shangkun.

"The atmosphere here at the airport is very festive," report the correspondents. It is decorated with numerous Soviet and Chinese flags. It is a bright, sunny day."

"Mikhail Sergeyevich and Yang Shangkun walk past the honor guard." "PRC television, like us, is carrying live coverage of the arrival of the high Soviet guest." The correspondents note that Chinese television yesterday broadcast a 10-minute documentary on Gorbachev's life. Today almost all papers published articles on the visit, portraits, and biographical data. The correspondent quotes a PRC daily on the "historic visit," as well as other papers that praise Soviet-Chinese relations.

"Representatives of the Chinese leadership have been introduced to Mikhail Sergeyevich, who is now greeting foreign diplomats, members of the diplomatic corps, and the staff of the Soviet Embassy."

"Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Yang Shangkun, after greeting all who came to meet them at the airport, continue their conversation."

The correspondents then give various data about China's population and the sights of Beijing.

"Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and the members of the his accompanying delegation are getting into cars and the cortege is setting out for the city."

'Official' Arrival Statement Reported

LD1505064789 Moscow TASS in English 0635 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 15 TASS—Follows official translation of Mikhail Gorbachev's written statement, circulated at the airport and the press centre for accredited journalists on his arrival in Beijing:

Remarks by Mikhail S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, upon arrival in Beijing
May 15, 1989

Dear comrades,
On behalf of the peoples of the Soviet Union, I first wish to convey heartfelt greetings and best wishes to the friendly Chinese people. May I also wish the people of Beijing success and prosperity.

We have come to China in spring time—the good season of burgeoning nature and the awakening of new life. All over the world, people associate this season with renewal and hope. This is consonant with our mood. We hope that the meetings and talks we are going to have with the Chinese leaders will mark a watershed in relations between the USSR and the People's Republic of China and in the further development of these relations on the basis of universally recognized principles of interstate relationships and goodneighbourliness.

We believe that developing in this way, Soviet-Chinese relations would adequately reflect the fundamental interests of our two countries and harmoniously combine with the positive changes that have taken shape in the world.

We in the Soviet Union follow with keen interest the transformations that are unfolding in China. But surely, nothing can substitute personal knowledge of a country and direct contacts with its leaders and people.

This is my first visit to China and I look forward to learning firsthand about your great country which has made an enormous contribution to the development of human civilization—a country with an ancient and original culture—and about the achievements the Chinese people have scored in the 40 years of socialist development.

Begins Talks With Yang Shangkun

LD1505105489 Moscow TASS in English 1049 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 15 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and China's President Yang Shangkun had a meeting here today in the headquarters of the National People's Congress.

The general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party's Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet arrived in Beijing on an official visit at mid-day today.

Gorbachev is going to hold talks and discussions with top Chinese leaders.

The forthcoming meetings will focus on issues of normalising bilateral relations and some international problems of mutual interest.

Rogachev Cited on Summit, Cambodia Settlement

LD1205134889 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] [First announcer] Mikhail Gorbachev begins a visit to the PRC on Monday. For this event, our reporter Vycheslav Terekhov has asked a Soviet deputy foreign minister, Igor Rogachev, to answer a few questions. The first question concerns the aim of the visit: What does the Soviet Union expect? Is it just a normalization of the relations between the two countries?

[Second announcer] The program of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to China covers meetings with senior leaders of state and the party, including the general secretary of the Communist Party of China, Zhao Ziyang. We share an ideal with the Chinese comrades that the summit will become the beginning of restoring interparty ties, thus we expect that the Soviet leader's visit will bring about a full normalization of the interstate and interparty relations and will greatly stimulate an all-round development of the ties between the two nations, said Igor Rogachev.

[First announcer] For a long time, there were several major obstacles toward better relations, including the border issue and the Kampuchean problem. How are the problems being solved?

[Second announcer] It is natural that they are disputed points between the Soviet Union and China which we inherited from the past, says Igor Rogachev, and they require solutions. We have been working with special vigor on them in the past 2 years. Talks have been conducted at the level of government delegations which are being assisted by a joint working group. I would like to note, says Igor Rogachev, that in the past 2 years this working group has been actually nonstop intermittently in Beijing and Moscow. [sentence as heard] We have surveyed and made photographs from the air of eastern section of our border that is more than 4,000 km long. We have settled roughly 95 percent of all the disputed issues. But there are sections of the border on which there is yet no accord, unfortunately. This is to be achieved at future meetings. Shortly, in the summer, such work is also to be done on the western section of the border with a total length of more than 3,000 km. A vast amount of work has been done and a great deal of work remains to be done. But it is important that we have already got results. As for the Kampuchean problem, the Chinese comrades and we have been discussing issues of a settlement for about 2 years. Both China and the Soviet Union have opportunities to help with an early settlement. It is satisfying that in the past few months the Kampuchean side themselves have made great progress, which, too, no longer interferes with the normalization of the relations between the Soviet Union and China.

Gerasimov on Student Protests, Summit Agenda

LD1505103289 Moscow World Service in English 1000 GMT 15 May 89

[Excerpts] The Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has arrived in Beijing on an official visit to China. [passage omitted] Mikhail Gorbachev will hold discussions today with the Chairman of the People's Republic of China Yang Shangkun.

At a briefing in Beijing, a representative of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Gennadiy Gerasimov, said the main topic would be further improving relations between the two countries. He also said that there is no definite agenda (?of) the talks with the Chinese leader. It is planned to discuss general problems such as the situation in the world and also bilateral relations. As a reply to questions, Gennadiy Gerasimov said that Chinese students were likely to take part in the meeting with delegates from the public scheduled for Wednesday. In that connection, he said that some journalists made totally unjustified attempts to bring to the forefront continuing student unrest in Beijing. The summit meeting, Gerasimov said, the first after a 30-year break, is much more important than student protests. Speaking about the current state of Soviet-Sino relations, the spokesman said that bilateral trade had grown tenfold over 5 years and (?that) contacts between the public of the two countries had expanded greatly.

Student Protests in Tiananmen Square Reported

Protests May Be 'Prolonged'

LD1405093189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] A demonstration involving many thousands of students has taken place in the capital of China. The demonstrators were demanding a dialogue, on the basis of equal rights, with the authorities, recognition of the patriotic democratic movement, and also the satisfaction of their demands, which are connected with the teaching process. It is reported that several hundred students have begun a sit-in and hunger strike. News agency correspondents are assuming that the current action may turn out to be prolonged.

Student-Government Meeting Reported

LD1505093689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0817 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Beijing, 15 May (TASS)—Sunday night [14 May] tens of thousands of Chinese students filled the central Tiananmen Square where about 1,500 representatives of various higher education institutions in the capital are on a hunger strike.

The press reports that a meeting took place Sunday between party and government officials and student representatives. Taking part in this were Li Tieying, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo, minister in charge of the PRC State Commission for Education; Yan Mingfu, CPC Central Committee secretary, director of the CPC Central Committee's United Front Work Department; and Wei Jianxing, PRC supervision minister.

During the course of the dialogue, "which began in an atmosphere of sincerity and constructiveness," representatives of the authorities expressed the hope that "the present meeting will create a mechanism for negotiations."

The main demands of the students, writes the CHINA DAILY, amount to the organization of a direct relay of the dialogue for the students in Tiananmen Square and the rejection by the authorities of their "assessment of the students' actions during the ceremonies mourning the death of Hu Yaobang as 'chaos.'"

Yesterday evening "the talks were suspended, since it became clear that the students' two main demands cannot be accepted."

The government welcomes the criticism and the proposals put forward by the workers, the students, and the broad masses, Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, stated here. As RENMIN RIBAO writes today, he stressed during a meeting with workers at the capital's Shoudu metallurgical combine that a number of the students' statements reflect real problems of society, like those of "the chaos that is manifest in the economic sphere, bureaucracy in party and administrative bodies, and some manifestations of disintegration." The party and the government, Li Peng noted, are currently studying a set of measures to resolve these problems while moving forward along the path of democracy and legality. Simultaneous with deepening economic reform, we will move political reform forward, the head of the Chinese Government said.

Zhao Warns Students

PM1505112989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Reports from Beijing"]

[Text] 14 May—The demonstration by students from more than 20 of the capital's higher education establishments continued today in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, but on the whole the Chinese capital remains calm.

The participants in the hunger strike that started Saturday are sitting in the middle of the square of "heavenly peace" in groups of several hundred people. According to the "declaration" that has been disseminated, the newspaper RENMIN RIBAO writes today, the demonstration is a "protest against the government's indifferent and cold attitude to the Beijing student strikes."

On Saturday evening Yan Mingfu, member of the CPC Central Committee Secretariat, met with a group of students and lecturers. During the discussion the hunger strikers put forward their demands. Yan Mingfu, XINHUA points out, "promised to convey the students' demands to the CPC Central Committee." Chinese leaders have called on the demonstrators to return to their hostels.

The CPC Central Committee organ RENMIN RIBAO reports that during a Saturday meeting with Beijing workers at the Great Hall of the People Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, dwelt on the subject of the student demonstrations, recognizing that the demands of the students, workers, and other sections of the population are just. The party and the government are studying with full responsibility ways of satisfying these demands.

Of course, the CPC leader continued, "we cannot make everything perfect overnight. We will continue to resolve matters on the basis of democracy and legality." He noted that "if the students or any other PRC citizens interfere in international talks and damage the Sino-Soviet summit, such a mindless act would not have the people's sympathy or support.

"The Sino-Soviet summit is an immensely important event that is attracting the attention of the entire world. The success of the summit accords with the interests of the two countries' peoples and will promote world peace and stability." The CPC leader called on all patriotic citizens in the country to "make efforts to maintain China's prestige and international authority and to prevent any action which might harm or damage the current summit."

Protests Block Gorbachev Welcome

LD1505133789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 15 May 89

[From the " Novosti" newscast; video report by A. Tikhomirov, V. Lyubovtsev, V. Korzin, and V. Kulikov from Tiananmen Square, Beijing]

[Excerpt] [Tikhomirov] According to a tradition here, the ceremony for welcoming eminent guests takes place on the steps of the Chinese National People's Congress building in Tiananmen Square. [video shows shots of Tiananmen Square full of young people waving red flags]

But sometimes life departs from diplomatic protocol. This is how Tiananmen looked at midday today; this is how the area in front of the house of the Chinese Congress looked. [camera pans over crowds of students filling square in front of large official building]

[Young Chinese man, speaking from crowd in Russian] The Chinese people welcome Gorbachev very warmly from the heart, with all their heart.

[Tikhomirov] So historians will recall later that the first Soviet-Chinese summit meeting in 30 years began in days that were not at all easy for Beijing. [video shows banners written in Russian: "We welcome you, Gorbachev," and "Hello to the initiator of glasnost"] But the main thing we are entitled to expect during these days is mutual understanding, the step toward cooperation between two great peoples on the basis of mutual advantage and profound respect for each other. [video cuts to shots of Chinese reading posters and riding bicycles through streets]

Just as the color of our two flags is common, so are the main directions and the basic processes of restructuring in both our countries. And its final goal is to make the life of society as a whole and of each individual happier and more prosperous. Democratization, yes, glasnost, yes—only in China it is called transparency, and reforms to the economy, altering its mechanisms.

And the mistakes, as well as the crossroads, and putting the cart before the horse in the course of these processes, are also similar, if you like. But this, I stress, is the internal matter of each of the countries as to how one should get out of this and remedy things. [passage omitted]

May 4 Movement Commemorated in Moscow 25 Apr

OW1205112689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 26 Apr 89

[From the "Half an Hour With Wang Xiao" program]

[Text] The Far East Institute and the Oriental Studies Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, along with the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, held a joint meeting in Moscow on 25 April to mark the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement of 1919.

Academician Sergey Leonidovich Tikhvinskiy, chairman of the Central Committee of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, delivered the opening speech. Comrade Tikhvinskiy said: Today we held a symposium to observe the 70th anniversary of the May 4th Movement, a major event in Chinese history. The May 4th Movement was launched under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 in Russia. It helped spread humanity and democracy in China, inspired the Chinese people, and marked a significant stage in Chinese history. Academician Tikhvinskiy wished the symposium success.

Comrade Mikhail Leontyevich Titarenko, director of the Far East Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, spoke next at the symposium. Comrade Titarenko said: The May 4th Movement went down in history not only because it was a mammoth anti-imperialist movement that resisted imperialist countries imposing on China unequal treaties that violated the sovereignty and dignity of China, but also because it provided a very precious historical lesson for the Chinese people as well as the rest of the world. The success of the anti-imperialist movement showed to the people that it was possible to protect their own dignity and independence.

Soviet Sinologists (Galenovich), (Klyushin), and (Peroviskaya) also spoke at the symposium on various issues in connection with the May 4th Movement.

Soviet Officials, Journalists Arrive for Summit

Soviet Press Center Opens

OW1205174989 Moscow in Mandarin to Southeast Asia 1200 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Because of the forthcoming Soviet-Chinese summit meeting, a large number of Soviet journalists and a Soviet delegation of public figures [gong zhong dai biao tuan] have arrived in Beijing.

Members of the delegation include well-known Soviet scholars, writers, and artists. Among those who have arrived in Beijing are the writer Aytmatov; Titarenko, director of the Far East Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences; and the composer (Ballos).

The Soviet Press Center began operating today in Beijing.

The forthcoming summit meeting has attracted great interest from the international community. Journalists from all over the world have flocked to Beijing. More than 1,000 journalists will come to Beijing to cover the event.

Officials Host News Conference

LD1205161389 Moscow TASS in English 1540 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 12 TASS—A press center for reporters, who have come here to cover the official visit to the PRC of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, opened here today at the brand new "Guoji" Hotel, comissioned a few days ago.

It will provide services to more than one thousand accredited Chinese and foreign pressmen, representing the leading mass media of many countries. They will be able to get there detailed information on the purposes and progress of the visit, meet members of the Soviet delegation and the officials accompanying it, to probe the views of prominent Soviet political and public leaders, scientists and cultural workers on the internal political processes going on in the Soviet Union, on different aspects of its foreign policy and latest Soviet peace initiatives.

The first news conference was held in the crowded hall of the centre today. It was received with great interest. The conference was opened by the head of the press centre Nikolay Yefimov, deputy chief of the Ideological Department of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, who dwelt on the Soviet concept of new political thinking, certain aspects of its practical implementation in contemporary international conditions. Replying to numerous questions put by pressmen were academician Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Professor Mikhail Titarenko, director of the Far East Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the All-Union Association of Sinologists; Vsevolod Ovchinnikov, PRAVDA political analyst; Chingiz Aytmatov, a Soviet writer and founder of the world movement of scientists, writers, and cultural workers known as the "Issykkul Forum"; and Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Information Directorate.

Charikov, Papayan Address Press

LD1205190589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] [Announcer] It so happens, comrades, that the international segment of our bulletin today is devoted primarily to various meetings and sets of talks—talks already held, in progress, or forthcoming—between the Soviet leadership and senior foreign politicians. You must agree, comrades, that this only goes to show how active Soviet foreign policy is. Now let us discuss the official visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to China, which begins on Monday, 15 May. It can be stated without exaggeration that paramount significance is being attached to this event in the international arena. I will ask our correspondents in Beijing, special correspondent Igor Charikov, and Albet Papayan, who is permanentaly accredited there, to tell us how the PRC is preparing for it. Over, then, to Beijing:

[Begin recording] [?Charikov] Here in Beijing, the Soviet-Sino summit is being awaited with interest and great hope. The press, radio, and television is devoting attention to the forthcoming visit to the PRC by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The CHINA DAILY today cites Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping and Wu Xueqian, vice premier of the State Council, on positive changes in bilateral relations and on the significance of the forthcoming meeting. Interest in the Soviet Union has increased to an uncommon degree in the last few days. Sales of a 10-volume publication called The Soviet Union Today will start at the Soviet bookshop here in Beijing tomorrow. Works of Russian and Soviet literature are in great demand. As for our experts and cultural figures who arived in Beijing on the eve of the summit, what can one say; they truly are a sellout! First, all this testifies to the interest that in our country and our restructuring, and, second, it is pomoting the creation of a highly favorable atmosphere for the visit of the Soviet leader.

[?Papayan] The central event today was the opening of the Soviet press centre. The first news conference was devoted to the topic of the new poltical thinking. It was conducted by Comrade Yefimov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department. Replies were given to the many questions by prominent Soviet experts and public figures Primakov and Titarenko; Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate; the writer Chingiz Aytmatov; and PRAVDA political observer Vsevolod Ovchinnikov. Naturally, the majority of questions concerned the prospects for the development of Soviet-Chinese relations in the political, economic, cultural and other spheres. Journalists were interested in literally everything. What does the full normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China signify? How will interparty ties be restored? What is the difference between the sides with regard to the Cambodia problem? Then there was the issue of the growth of trade, including frontier trade, and so on. There is truly vast interest. Approximately 1,000 foreign correspondents have arrived in Beijing to cover the forthcoming event; they are American, British, French, Arab, Yugoslav, and Italian, with over 100 journalists from Japan alone. [end recording]

Aytmatov Addresses Press

LD1205171989 Moscow TASS in English 1421 GMT 12 May 89

["Statement by Prominent Soviet Writer"—TASS headline]

[Text] Beijing May 12 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

Normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations and the restoration of inter-party ties will give an impetus to their further developments. This was stated at a news conference held Friday at the Soviet Press Center that was just opened in the Guoji Hotel. Soviet writer Chingiz Aytmatov, editor-in-chief of INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA (FOREIGN LITERATURE) journal, founder of a worldwide movement of scientists, writers, workers in the arts known as the Issykkul Forum, enlarged on this appraisal.

"There is another dimension to the coming visit—this is what is thought about the visit by Soviet people," he said. "We attach exceptional importance to this event for the reason that we regard it not as just another visit in the framework of diplomatic ties but as an historic necessity. We think that the rapprochement of the two great socialist powers will help us in a certain degree to establish the essence of our difficulties, to exchange experience. And we hope very much that this visit will be fruitful not only in a political an diplomatic sense, but will also give us an opportunity to establish broader contacts in the spiritual area, above all, in the area of culture, literature and the arts. We think the visit is timely and very topical in the present conditions and we pin great hopes on it."

USSR-PRC Normalization Threatens No One

LD1305142189 Moscow TASS in English 1409 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 13 TASS—As the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting is getting nearer, matters connected with the Soviet Union, the normalisation of relations between the two great socialist powers and the growing cooperation between them are acquiring more and more prominence in the press and public life of China.

Newspaper articles and statements by political and public figures, business and the man in the street are keynoted by the idea that the two neighbouring countries are now facing a qualitatively new stage in their relations and that from now on they will be built only on the basis of present-day realities which fundamentally differ from the realities of the past few decades.

The newspaper CHINA DAILY said in its editorial article Saturday that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's four-day visit to China, beginning Monday, will be historic and that his meeting with Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping will mark the end of three decades of enmity between China and the Soviet Union and the resumption of normal relations between them.

"The first Soviet-Chinese summit since 1959, no doubt, will be one of the most remarkable events in international politics this year and throughout the 1980s," the newspaper said.

It is pointed out in China that the full normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations, which also implies the restoration of relations between the two communist parties, is the result of consistent efforts by both countries in the past few years.

It also confirms the growing international trend toward the relaxation of tension and the development of political dialogue.

This normalisation is the result of the realisation of new political thinking by which the Soviet Union is guided in its relations with other countries, and of the Chinese concept of a new international political order, putting China's relations with all countries on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Of course, no one here expects that all problems of Soviet-Chinese relations will be immediately solved. Nevertheless, there is a strong belief that the forthcoming summit will put an end to the difficulties of the past and open a new era in bilateral relations.

Western reporters, especially American ones, now are trying to figure out what kind of relations will be established between the Soviet Union and China when they are fully normalised: Will they be the same as between any two other countries or will they be something different, as the Soviet Union and China are socialist countries?

The calculation of the balance of forces, begun by Western political scientists many years ago within the framework of the "big triangle" involving the Soviet Union, the United States and China, is somehow taking a new turn in present-day conditions.

The West is expressing concern over the transition of Soviet-Chinese relations from the confrontation of the past years, which was usual and advantageous for the West, to the full normalisation and large-scale cooperation in all areas.

There are fears that the new era in Soviet-Chinese relations will change the balance of forces in the world.

Of course, the "big triangle" is not a matter of rigid geometry. But the Soviet Union and China are not building their relations to the detriment of third countries and do not seek to destabilise international relations. On the contrary, they seek to make these relations more stable and strengthen peace and security.

Summit Raises Hopes for Deeper USSR-PRC Ties

LD1505010989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2200 GMT 14 May 89

["Mayak" commentary by Nikolay Agayants]

[Text] The visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the PRC which begins today is at the center of attention of the foreign public. One can say, without exaggeration, that the lion's share of reports by the foreign mass media is devoted to this event. Here is a Mayak commentary by Nikolay Agayants:

Yes, the interest in the Soviet leader's visit to the PRC is truly immense. And this is understandable, after all, because for the first time in the last 3 decades, a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting will take place, which will signify, first and foremost, the normalization of relations between our countries. The state of these relations, let me note, always had and, naturally, continues to have today a most profound effect on the political climate in our world as a whole.

The success of the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting suits the interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the PRC and favors peace and stability throughout the world. This was stated by Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, in a conversation with Beijing workers. As we know, during their long history, bilateral relations between our countries have undergone serious tests. On 3 October 1949, only 2 days after the proclamation of the PRC, the Soviet Union was the first to officially recognize this state. Following the restoration of diplomatic relations, there were different years: years of friendship and close cooperation, years of confrontation, and years of almost complete indifference and stagnation. From the second half of the eighties, one can unequivocally speak of a new stage of Soviet-Chinese ties and say that, against the background of the deep restructuring processes and social transformations taking place in the USSR and the PRC, mutual interest in one another has re-emerged.

Today it is extremely clear that we need to seek and find everything that brings us closer, not that which divides us. We must patiently and persistently move forward along the path of normalizing Sino-Soviet relations and the development and strengthening of mutually beneficial cooperation. This will undoubtedly be assisted by the dialogue of the USSR and PRC leaders.

We in the Soviet Union sincerely hope that the visit by Comrade Gorbachev to the PRC will give a new impulse to the development of our relations to a level that corresponds to the responsibility of both states for international policy, and that it will provide an opportunity during the meetings and talks to discuss issues that concern the whole world community today: in other words, the problems of disarmament, the reduction of military confrontation in the world and in the Asia-Pacific region in particular, and the settlement of regional conflicts, including the situation in Indochina.

Naturally, hopes for deepening economic and cultural ties and establishing between our countries a new type of relations are being pinned on the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting, relations that are based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, goodneighbourliness, and cooperation. As we can see, the tasks are great, but fully resolvable.

PRC Attitude to 'New Phase' in Relations Viewed

PM1505101189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondent V. Ovchinnikov dispatch: "Opening Up the Future. Drawing Lessons from the Past"]

[Text] Beijing, 14 May—Putting an end to the past and opening up the future... Even knowing the Chinese predilection for set phrases, one is amazed at how often this aphorism is heard in Beijing these days. On the eve of the Soviet-Chinese summit, people everywhere are talking, thinking, and arguing about relations between our states. But probably the most professional discussions on this subject are being conducted at the Academy of Social Sciences' Institute of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. This old building in the eastern part of the capital is a mecca for journalists, both Chinese and foreign.

Institute Director Xu Kui, his deputy Li Jingjie, and Wu Renzhang, chief of the theory sector, shared their ideas on what, in their view, should be the nature of Soviet-Chinese relations following their normalization.

"Thinking of the future, one must draw lessons from the past," Li Jingjie said. "In the fifties we were allies, and there was a real need for that. It was necessary to pool forces in the face of a real threat from imperialism. Yet an alliance that is justified under emergency circumstances is more an anomaly than a norm when the emergency is over. We made this alliance an absolute in our relations. The attitude was that, once a country has embarked on the socialist road, its place is in the socialist camp. Yet this very term bears the seeds of confrontation: Whoever is not with us is against us!

"We carefully copied the then-Stalinist model of socialism, convincing ourselves that there could be no other model and that uniformity embodied common laws of development. But in rejecting diversity we were intolerant of different views, and we suddenly became enemies instead of allies. Each side thought it had a monopoly on the truth, measured the other by its own standards, and essentially tried to interfere in the other's internal affairs." [Li ends]

"If things reached the point of military conflict between the socialist states, that was again because uniformity and uniform thinking had been turned into a cult," Wu Renzhang said. "Ruling out the very possibility of looking at things differently, we tried to impose our views by force. Different views were equated with apostasy both in domestic policy and in relations with other countries. In order to learn lessons from the past we must above all observe the principle of independence, autonomy, and respect for each side's right to its own opinion. It must be admitted that each socialist country has its own national interests and that the features of its historic development must be taken into account. In the new phase of relations we need a reliable political mechanism to resolve possible discord and disputes on a healthy basis. Diversity of opinions should be a support for further progress rather than an impediment. You in the Soviet Union are doing the right thing in combining economic restructuring with reform of the political system. We in China are also setting ourselves this task. But the implementation of political reforms is lagging behind somewhat.

"This is probably one reason for the current student disturbances..." [Wu ends]

"The rejection of the confrontation of the sixties and seventies does not mean a return to the alliance of the fifties," institute director Xu Kui interjected. "Normalization is marking the beginning of relations of a new type that will be reliably based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. For almost 30 years Sino-Soviet relations have not been normal. This was not in our peoples' interests and did not promote stability in Asia or worldwide peace. That is why the Chinese people are sincerely pleased about Gorbachev's visit and want the summit to be a success."

So, the Beijing summit is meant to normalize relations between two neighboring world powers, two permanent members of the UN Security Council, and the two largest socialist states. If that is so, the "norm" mentioned in the preceding conversation is very high. Formulating the basic principles of the new type of Soviet-Chinese relations, determining the main guidelines for their further development, and laying reliable foundations for good-neighborliness and cooperation between the USSR and the PRC are all epoch-making tasks.

For almost 3 decades our countries, each of which has been the motherland of a great revolution during the 20th century, have been divided by a wall of alienation. Yet the need for discourse is a vital need for neighboring peoples. For all the differences in specific conditions, the reforms in China and restructuring in the USSR have similar goals and are encountering similar difficulties. And although the processes of socialist renewal are developing individually in each country, there is a growing professional and benevolent interest in each other's successes and failures, and a desire to take account of both the positive and negative experience of the neighbor.

Historical experience and present-day realities suggest that it would be most reliable to base relations between our states on the generally accepted universal principles of peaceful coexistence.

Until recently we viewed the principles of peaceful coexistence above all as a basis for relations between states with different social systems. New political thinking is widening the sweep of this concept. Following the principles of peaceful coexistence these days means not just living in the world, but also resolving arguments without recourse to force, and respecting each other's legitimate interests. It also means cooperating actively and deepening interdependence. Otherwise it will be hard to achieve a genuinely stable and long-term balance of interests.

The priority task will be the creation of a basis for constructive cooperation that will promote restructuring in the USSR and reform in China. Questions of commercial, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, judging by everything, will be priority avenues for interstate relations and the core of bilateral ties.

What can be said about the present state of affairs in this sphere? If we use statistics selectively, as we used to love doing, there have evidently been great successes. Soviet-Chinese trade has again become dynamic. Trade turnover between the USSR and the PRC has increased tenfold since the start of the decade and totalled R1.85 billion last year. In monetary terms, trade has reached the record indicators of the late fifties (although, admittedly, prices were considerably lower then).

But what is R1.85 billion in today's terms, compared with the needs and opportunities of the day? China has managed to increase its annual trade turnover with Japan to $20 billion. We, too, should be able to find things to buy from the Japanese. But the Chinese had to put corresponding amounts of competitive Chinese goods into the saturated Japanese market. For us, such export volumes, to either Japan or China, are still unrealistic.

Yet the structure of Soviet-Chinese trade ties reaffirms their mutually advantageous nature and the complementarity of the two countries' economies. Approximately half of Soviet shipments to China are made up of machines and equipment (we have cause for pride in that area). And 80 percent of these are intended for the power generation and transportation industries. These are precisely the sectors that are currently "bottlenecks" in the PRC national economy. Consequently, Soviet electric locomotives, railcars, and generators for power stations are in demand there. We in turn buy soybeans, corn, meat products, tea, tungsten concentrate, fluorspar, and consumer goods from China.

However, increasing trade turnover alone does not promise any fundamental improvements in Soviet-Chinese trade. The opportunities for its extensive development are not limitless. There are far better prospects in the transition to new forms of trade, economic, and scientific-technical cooperation. A start has already been made on this. The USSR is giving China technical assistance in building and modernizing 46 industrial projects.

In China the Society for the Study of Economic Reform Problems is considered the "think tank" of restructuring. In conversation with this PRAVDA correspondent, its Vice President Professor Tong Daling said: "I am one of those Chinese scholars who consider the idea of regional cooperation in Northeast Asia to have great promise. China, the USSR, Japan, Mongolia, and North and South Korea could participate in it. If the Soviet Maritime Kray decided to set up a free-enterprise zone, China would be interested in developing [osvoyeniye] it along with other of the countries I have mentioned.

"We will make no assumption about whether those who are calling the next century the Pacific century will be proved right, but in any event," Tong Daling said, "I predict a considerable galvanization of economic interaction between Europe and Asia in the nineties. And Sino-Soviet cooperation could play an enormous role in this area."

In the opinion of many people we talked to, a typical feature of Soviet-Chinese trade and economic cooperation in the future will be its decentralization. Trade turnover and other ties will not be restricted to the framework of agreements between governments.

The setting up of joint ventures is likely to be a promising new avenue for Soviet-Chinese ties. The development of the Soviet Far East is geared to the expansion of economic cooperation with the countries of the Asia-Pacific region. The conversion of military production could substantially expand the base for this. Direct cooperation between the regions and border trade will grow substantially. As the maritime provinces of eastern and southern China are developed at an accelerated rate, the gap between them and the country's inland areas will inevitably widen. With no opportunity to extensively attract foreign equipment and technology for freely convertible currency, the Chinese interior is already showing increased interest in cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Over the past few years the volume of border trade has increased several times over and the number of areas involved in the trade has increased. It now accounts for 5 percent of trade turnover. This form of cooperation is generating great interest locally. The Soviet side, in particular, is linking it with the possibility of bringing in Chinese labor to build social and consumer projects. The Chinese side is interested in acquiring from its neighbors raw materials that are currently in particularly short supply on the local market.

Unfortunately, the rapid growth of border trade turnover has exacerbated the already poor transportation services used in Soviet-Chinese trade. The capacity of road and rail border crossings is virtually exhausted. Cargo handling facilities at ports are also being pushed to the limit. We cannot allow the transportation base to impede Soviet-Chinese economic ties.

Around 3 years ago the hope was expressed in Vladivostok that the Soviet-Chinese border would in time become a line joining rather than dividing our countries. As the USSR and China have moved toward the normalization of their relations, distrust of the neighbor has diminished, as has the sense of threat.

Thanks to this, both the USSR and China have made giant strides in recent years to reduce the level of military confrontation. The Chinese People's Liberation Army has been cut by 1 million. The decision to unilaterally reduce the Soviet Armed Forces by half a million applies to Asia as well as Europe. Troop numbers will be cut by 200,000 in the eastern part of the country and by 80,000 in the southern part of the country. Seventy percent of the Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia are returning home. The divisions remaining deployed along the PRC border after the cuts will have a profoundly defensive structure.

Forces and armaments cuts to minimum levels in the border regions, and ultimately the complete demilitarization of the border, would be in the interests of the Soviet and Chinese peoples. The transformation of the border into a 7,000km-plus zone of peace and good-neighborliness would not only release considerable resources for creative purposes, but would also promote the strengthening of stability in Asia.

The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations provides new impetus for the positive trends making headway in the world arena. After all, how many prophets have foretold the inevitability of prolonged enmity between Moscow and Beijing! Yet our states, deciding to put an end to the past, have jointly removed a serious seat of tension in the Far East and thereby made a weighty contribution toward strengthening security in the Asia-Pacific region.

The move away from confrontation and toward cooperation in this part of the world is not yet complete. But political life there has clearly acquired new dynamism. A Sino-Indian summit has been held. Political dialogue between Beijing and Hanoi has been resumed. The countries of Indochina and the ASEAN members are taking steps toward each other. The prospects for a political settlement in Cambodia are becoming increasingly realistic. New approaches are planned to the problems of the Korean peninsula.

The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations reflects and at the same time promotes the overall thrust of these changes. Both our states proceed in their policy on the basis that peace and development are the main problems of the day. The concept advanced in Beijing of a new international political order is largely consonant with our idea about new political thinking. We note with satisfaction that China is becoming more and more deeply involved in world affairs and is having a positive impact on the international climate. The PRC's voice carries weight at the United Nations and other international organizations.

Soviet and Chinese approaches to the key problems of the day are very close or coincide (which does not rule out differences on individual issues). However, the two neighboring socialist states still have unutilized opportunities for parallel steps in the international arena. Collaborating on a regional and global scale, our countries could do far more to prevent a nuclear and ecological catastrophe and restore peace and justice to the world's "hotspots."

The normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations will help to reveal more fully the potential of socialism in each of our countries and the potential for collaboration between our countries. And, at the same time, it will be an important component in creating a new international political order and will improve the situation in the region and the world.

That is why the words "opening up the future" are not restricted to the framework of bilateral relations. They have a largely global ring.

PRC, USSR Experts View Gorbachev Visit, Ties

PM1505093389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 May 89 Morning Edition pp 1, 3

[Special correspondents V. Kobysh and Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "A Long-Awaited Visit"]

[Text] Beijing—And so, M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the PRC is about to begin, a visit that was awaited with such intense attention not only in the PRC, but also in many other countries across the planet, as indicated by the invasion of Beijing by an entire legion of mass media representatives from all over the world. We were told that there were already over 1,000 of them here, but their numbers are swelling like an avalanche and no one knows exactly how many journalists will be covering this visit. It is obvious that their numbers are unusually high.

How is this event perceived here? Over the last few days we have had the most diverse conversations: With "Joe public," with scientific analysts, with journalists, with representatives of the authorities. It cannot be said that all opinions were identical; their broad range covered the distance between the enthusiastic and the restrained. In short, the Soviet leader's visit is perceived as an event of global importance and, as far as Soviet-Chinese relations are concerned, as an event of historic importance if only because a Soviet leader is arriving here for the first time in 30 years.

Let us repeat, opinions span a broad range. In this report of ours, sacrificing our own reflections, we shall let our friends and colleagues speak.

Here is what we were told in a conversation with someone who knows the Soviet Union perhaps as well as we ourselves do. Wang Chongjie spent many years in our country working as XINHUA correspondent, and the local press now regularly carries profoundly analytical material by him devoted to the USSR. "M.S. Gorbachev's arrival marks the beginning of a new stage in Sino-Soviet relations, which our people have looked forward to for a very long time," he said. "Normalization is tremendously important for the whole of mankind, and this is why attention everywhere is now so eagerly focused on our two countries. Problems in relations between China and the USSR still remain, but dialogue between the top leaders is the most effective way of resolving them. It is important to learn a lesson from past experience. Now there is every reason for relations to become healthy and stable. I believe that many problems can be resolved via party contacts, which will be resumed following the summit meeting. After all, the communist parties in our countries are the ruling parties."

Yu Gang, research scientist at Beijing's Institute for International Strategic Studies, singles out four factors determining the special importance of the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations. First, it will promote detente and stability in international relations as a whole. From his point of view, this would specifically benefit Sino-Indian, Indo-Pakistani, Soviet-Pakistani, and Sino-Vietnamese relations. Second, normalization will play a prime role in the establishment of a new international political order, whose foundations are provided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. It was at the end of last year, on the day of PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen's visit to the USSR, that the Chinese leadership first put forward this foreign policy concept. Third, normalization will help strengthen international economic cooperation. Conditions will be created not only for bilateral trade and economic relations, but also for broad multilateral cooperation with developed capitalist states and newly industrialized countries. After all, production, trade, and financial interdependence are a common phenomenon in the contemporary world. They exert determining influence on the development of the world economy. Fourth, normalization will help deepen the exchange of experience between socialist countries in the implementation of socioeconomic and political reforms.

Yu Gang referred to the way the improvement of USSR-China relations generates obvious alarm and concern among certain circles in some countries. Why is this? Surely, a serious analysis of the changed world situation proves such fears artificial and totally groundlessness. In terms of substance, the development of Sino-Soviet relations clearly lags behind the development of Soviet-U.S. relations or, for example, USSR-West European relations. In these circumstances, any "truncation" of these relations would be detrimental not only to reforms and economic development in China and the USSR, but also to maintenance of the universal strategic balance in the world. Let us, for our part, add that Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India, welcoming the improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations just recently here, on Chinese soil, confidently declared that it would help ease tension in Asia and all over the world. Another noteworthy fact was also expressed in a highly convincing and authoritative manner: During the talks held this year in China between U.S. President G. Bush and local leaders, Soviet-Chinese relations were perceived by both sides as a factor favorable to world peace and stability.

Now let us take a look at the stance adopted by a commentator from the CHINA DAILY newspaper: The reconciliation is testimony to the world's movement toward detente and dialogue and, at the same time, a logical outcome of the constant efforts made by both sides since the resumption of political consultations on the normalization of relations in the early eighties. Even though an instantaneous solution to all problems is not to be expected, let us hope that the summit meeting will put an end to past insults and open a new era in relations between the two countries. In the conditions of new relations, the two countries' inexhaustible human and material resources will not only serve their development, but also be applied to the solution of mankind's global problems.

It was in the ancient building of the residence of China's former president, which now houses the Institute for USSR and East European Studies, that we met Institute Director Xu Kui, an authoritative Sovietologist. He is in great demand nowadays, his time allocated by the minute: Everyone wants to know about restructuring in the USSR. "There is unusual interest in M.S. Gorbachev's visit; our people are looking foward to it," he said, greeting us with a tired smile.

But what was his personal assessment of these events?

[Xu] "It is one of the most important events in today's world, directly associated not only with our two countries, but also with the whole world and primarily the Asia-Pacific region," he said. "In light of the normalization of Soviet-U.S. relations and now the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations, the famous USSR-U.S.-China triangle, with its past confrontational nature, is now becoming—if I might use this expression—a triangle of peace and cooperation. We moved toward this visit gradually over a long period of time, and now, especially following the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the announced withdrawal of 75 percent of your armed forces from Mongolia, the time for it has come. We will draw a line beneath the past and will make our way into the future."

"Nonetheless, what is your specific view of our relations now?" we asked him.

"They are not the relations we had in the fifties, when we blindly imitated your experience," he said. "Now both you and we proceed from our own experience. It seems to me that our relations will be based on three principles. The first is peaceful coexistence. Our two great socialist countries are linked by a tremendously long border. It is vitally important that it be a border of peace for all times. I think some political mechanism will be created in the future, making it impossible for the sad events of past years to recur. The second is independence and autonomy. During the sixties and seventies our countries interfered in each other's internal affairs, primarily in the ideology sphere. An end must be put to this now. And the third is broad trade, economic, scientific, and other cooperation on the basis of mutual advantage."

[Question] "In what spheres could the USSR and China utilize the mutual experience of restructuring?"

"I think this applies not just to our two countries," our interlocutor replied. "First, there is no such thing as a standard, uniform model of restructuring. Second, nowadays no one can be isolated from the outside world. As far as we are concerned, we are following the restructuring in the USSR and the reforms in the East European countries very carefully. Your concepts, whether they concern economic or political reforms, are of a comprehensive nature. This is interesting. We are also interested in your elaborations concerning the improvement of legislation and the creation of a rule-of-law state. Everyone has his own experience. The Hungarian comrades, for example, believe that reform of the political system is overdue. This perhaps applies also to us to a certain extent. As for our own reform, you are probably interested in our achievements in the economic sphere."

One more, somewhat unexpected conversation with our fellow countryman Professor L.P. Delyusin. He is in charge of the China Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute. He is here on official scientific business. Here are his observations: "I have noticed a deeper sense of community among scientists whom I have had an opportunity to meet. Previously this was often overshadowed by slogans, but now you can perceive an inner awareness of common problems. We are destined to achieve a new existence of socialism together, even though independently, each with our own national hues. I was struck by the lack of inhibition among those whom I met, the bold discussion of topics that were banned in the past, and the quest for ways free from dogmas."

These were the thoughts and reflections we heard on the eve of the Soviet leader's arrival in the Chinese capital.

Talks on Sino-Soviet Military Reductions Urged

PM1405143989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 13 May 89 First Edition p 5

[Captain First Rank V. Kuzar dispatch: "The Path Toward Trust. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's Special Correspondent Reports From the PRC"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] When speaking about Soviet-Chinese relations, it is impossible not to touch on one particular sphere of these relations—the military sphere. It is known that both countries are unilaterally undertaking practical steps in terms of military relaxation measures in the region of the Soviet-Chinese border. However, today this is no longer sufficient. Negotiations are necessary to move farther down the road of reducing forces and creating an atmosphere of trust in this region. Negotiations in which particular areas?

It seems that there could be talk here about reducing the offensive components of the armed forces, limiting the scale and number of military exercises, establishing reciprocal monitoring [kontrol], and other issues. And the cornerstone must be the principle of reasonable sufficiency. An important role could be played by mutually agreed confidence-building measures, the reciprocal provision of information on the sides' military activity, and a system of effective monitoring [kontrol].

There is no special need to emphasize that the attainment of specific results on these issues would be an important contribution to the full normalization of relations between the USSR and the PRC.

...It is a beautiful sunny day in Beijing today. Spring—nature's time of renewal—is at its height. Soviet-Chinese relations are also being renewed, and the level of these relations must accord with the two great countries' place and role in the world.

Mandarin Beam Commentator on Asia-Pacific Issues

U.S. Urged To Reduce Military Forces

OW1105063689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 6 May 89

[Part one of article by station commentator Platonov]

[Text] Now, let's talk about some issues in the Asia-Pacific region. Because a large part of Soviet territory is located in the region, our relations with nations in this region are naturally very important. The following article has been prepared by Platonov, a commentator for this station:

The Asia-Pacific region has played an increasingly important role in world economy and politics. This is a matter of course. We must know that economic and military powers, such as the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, and China, are located in this region. Other countries in the region, including Singapore, Hong Kong, and South Korea, have all been developing well. In a word, a second economic center—the Pacific center—has actually emerged here to compete with its European counterpart.

What do most Asia-Pacific countries have in common? First, they have twice as much economic growth as other regions in the world, with some of them hitting a growth rate of 10 percent. Among them, the relatively developed countries have recorded rapid growth in trade volume. What is more, the percentage of sophisticated products and technology is steadily increasing among their exports. Many of them have successfully waged a scientific revolution. Second, economic cooperation and interdependence have strengthened among countries in the region. All of this indicates that countries in the Asia-Pacific region share common ground, which contributes to their economic growth.

Now, let's discuss what impedes this economic growth and makes it difficult for mutually beneficial economic cooperation to develop. Briefly speaking, this has to do with the complicated political situation and the considerably high level of military buildup in this region. There have reportedly been encouraging changes in this regard. Steps taken to settle armed conflicts in Cambodia and Afghanistan have, to a large extent, contributed to the change. Undoubtedly, the destruction of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range missiles has also produced a positive effect on the situation in this vast region. In addition to this, the Soviet Union's unilateral decision on troop reduction has also played a positive role. The Soviet Union will reduce its forces in its Asian territory by 200,000. However, generally speaking, it is regrettable that no action has been taken to reduce the military buildup in the Pacific region as has been done in Europe. For example, the United States has kept a strong force in the Pacific region on a regular basis, with some 200 warships as well as 1,200 fighter planes, of which more than 600 carry nuclear weapons. There is a detachment of eight Ohio-class nuclear submarines, whose strategic nuclear missiles are within striking range of thousands of targets in the Soviet Union and other Southeast Asian countries. Japan and South Korea are armed to the teeth as well. What is more, they join the United States in its relatively large-scale military exercises.

Following are remarks by Major General (Bajienin), an expert of the CPSU Central Committee, on the military buildup in the Pacific region by the United States and its allies:

[(Bajienin) heard briefly in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation by announcer] (Bajienin) said: I feel the military buildup in this region has caught up with that in Europe, although it should, in principle, decrease. The United States has launched large-scale military exercises in the Asia-Pacific region—for example, the Team Spirit exercise held with South Korea. Although the Soviet Union has also held military exercises, none of them are large-scale. Of course, the Soviet Union also keeps a regular force of 1.7 million in its eastern territory. This includes strategic missile units and large warships. However, most of the forces are army units deployed on Soviet soil. Let me remind you again that this force will soon be reduced by 200,000. As for naval forces, the United States has a 2:1 edge over the Soviet Union in its number of warships and a 9:1 edge in the number of its ship-carried aircraft. Our naval buildup has always been inferior to that of the United States, and is continuing to decrease. The notification of each other's military buildup will undoubtedly improve mutual trust, thus moderating tensions in the Pacific region. In his Vladivostok speech, Gorbachev has emphasized the necessity of notification.

Listeners, let's again ask (Bajienin) to express his opinions. [(Bajienin) heard briefly in Russian, fading into Mandarin report by announcer] (Bajienin) said: In [words indistinct], Gorbachev proposed in Vladivostok that we support a candid and public notification of actions to be taken on the sea, in the air, and on land. (Bajienin) stressed that a large part of land in this region is Soviet territory, adding: We made a statement a year ago that we would drastically scale down all military exercises on the seas, including seas lying to the north and east as well as seas where the Soviet Pacific Fleet is deployed and cruises. In addition to this, we have reduced the scope of sea areas used for shooting practice and various exercises, and of seas over which air force planes fly. As we all know, the Soviet Union has outlined the principle of wisdom and [words indistinct] for working out a defense policy. We will soon reduce forces in our eastern territory by 200,000. We suggest that countries in the Asia-Pacific region also consider adopting this principle and have it actually implemented in areas under their respective jurisdictions.

Troops Along PRC Border 'Defensive'

OW1205050889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 7 May 89

[Part two of article by station commentator Platonov]

[Text] Today let us continue to discuss some issues in the Asia-Pacific region and the prospects for cooperation between the Soviet Union and some countries in the region. Our station commentator Platonov says:

In part one, I said that the situation in the Asia-Pacific region was not as stable as that in Europe. However, in the last few years, the Soviet Union has taken many steps to improve relations with all countries in the region, including our neighbors, China and Japan. Today, I will discuss in detail the question of normalizing relations between the Soviet Union and China. We know that stability in the Asia-Pacific region as a whole depends to a large extent on Soviet-Chinese relations. I must point out that remarkable progress has been made in Soviet-Chinese relations in recent years. Please listen to the views of (Rujin), a deputy director of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, on this issue:

[Begin (Rujin) recording in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation] Soviet-Chinese relations are now gradually improving. I would like to describe the current relations between the two socialist countries as being in a good-neighborly stage. The ally relations of the 1950's no longer exist between the Soviet Union and China. Neither side wants to restore those relations because they no longer conform to current realities. However, we are striving to maintain full and healthy relations with China in all fields. We are striving for comradely and good-neighborly relations that are conducive to promoting and developing economic, scientific, and cultural ties and political relations of various forms, including relations between the CPSU and the CPC. [end recording]

I would like to point out that progress is also being made in the military field. The Soviet Union will withdraw three-fourths of its troops in Mongolia. Soviet troops along the Soviet-Chinese border are defensive in nature. The Soviet Union will destroy all its intermediate-range and intermediate short-range missiles. Will it also destroy its existing strategic missiles in the Far East? Both foreign and Soviet listeners are concerned about this question. Please listen to an answer to this question given by Major General (Bajienin), a military expert of the CPSU Central Committee:

[Begin (Bajienin) recording in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation] These missiles are the target of ongoing Soviet-U.S. disarmament talks on a 50-percent reduction in offensive strategic weapons. As for other missiles with a range of less than 500 km, which are not yet governed by any treaties, we will reduce them to such an extent as to meet minimum defense needs only, with a view to developing stable political relations and good-neighorly relations. Our troops along the Soviet-Chinese border are not armed with offensive weapons, and their total strength and armament are decided by their defense duties. Nuclear missiles in these areas will be drastically reduced and even completely dismantled. [end recording]

There has been rapid development in Soviet-Chinese economic relations. In 1988, as compared with 1987, bilateral trade volume increased by 30 percent and reached almost $2.5 billion. Border trade has developed even faster, increasing nearly fourfold in 1988 compared to 1987, and trade contracts amounted to $500 million in 1988. A legal foundation has been laid for the two countries to run joint ventures in each other's countries.

I must point out that Soviet-Chinese relations in all fields are developing steadily but not hastily. In mid-May this year, Comrade Gorbachev will pay an official visit to the PRC. The Soviet Union regards this forthcoming visit as one of the most important events of the year. People hope this visit will result in a complete normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China.

Academics View USSR Ties Past and Present

PM1405182189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 89 p 3

[A. Platkovskiy dispatch: "Beijing: 30 Years On"]

[Excerpts] The Chinese press is calling the imminent visit to China by M.S. Gorbachev—the first bilateral summit meeting between the leaders of the USSR and the PRC—a historic event. [passage omitted]

In the old days—the 1950s—it was impossible to lose your way in Beijing if you spoke Russian. Now you can get lost in an instant. English has the monopoly.

But how are things now with the study of Russian? It seems that a crisis situation has already taken shape here. The fruits of several decades are being harvested—when teachers who had Russian were retrained in other languages and with time have erased it from their memory. Now Beijing is raising the alarm in connection with the fact that, recently in particular, there has been an increased demand for specialists with Russian. This coming fall in Beijing the graduates of the first 6-month Russian-language study courses will receive their diplomas. They now number about 2,000 in the capital. But this is a drop in the ocean.

Finding a common language in order to understand each other—thirty years ago this seemed to us a very simple matter. It was sufficent to sing the song "Moscow-Beijing" and embrace one another. At that time the Chinese called us their "elder brothers."

"Experience shows that our countries need to learn to respect one another, to treat each other as equals, if they wish to avoid repeating past mistakes." One can only fully agree with this conclusion from a commentator of the Beijing newspaper CHINA DAILY. But if you look more deeply, then the deformation in relations between the USSR and China in those years stemmed, without a doubt, from overcentralization in internal affairs and that fearful disease known as authoritarianism. The restructuring in the Soviet Union and the policy of reforms and openness in China are creating a fundamentally new foundation for building good relations between our countries.

This was the topic of conversation at the World Economics and Politics Institute under the PRC Academy of Social Sciences. My interlocutors—Prof Van Qinxun [name as published], Prof Gao Khen [name as transliterated], and Senior Associate Sun Zhenyuan [name as published]—are famous specialists who have spent many years studying the domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet Union.

Van Qinxun: "The abrupt change in relations between the two countries that occurred at the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s undoubtedly had enormous consequences not only for our countries but also for all of socialism, and the international situation as a whole. But it is scarcely possible today to state with all certainty that the weight of the past no longer exists. It cannot just evaporate. Still fresh in the memory is that time when both sides engaged in reckoning who had published how many vituperative articles, not to mention the fact that the events of 1969 on Damanskiy Island still generate pain in people's hearts. I am sure that as for the history of our relations, we still have a period of noncoincidence of views ahead."

Gao Khen: "It is essential to seek out that which draws us together, not that which divides us. Great tasks await us. In the economic sphere many problems we are encountering are similar or analogous. Still greater major problems require our joint solution at the international level."

Sun Zhenyuan: "I observed the period of the flowering of friendship between China and the Soviet Union, and then the deterioration of our relations—I was studying and working in Moscow. That was a complex time, but today I can say with pride that even at the height of our quarrel I saw the achievements of the Soviet Union and its positive experience in socialist building. I was profoundly impressed by Khrushchev's courageous move against the personality cult. As a scientist I welcome the new opportunities opening up in the sphere of the exchange of our countries' ideological, spiritual, and theoretical values. The need for such an exchange is most acute."

TASS Chronicles Soviet Relations With PRC

LD1505084189 Moscow TASS in English 0825 GMT 15 May 89

["Chronicle of Soviet-Chinese Meetings"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow May 15 TASS—The first Sino-Soviet summit meeting in the thirty years will cap Soviet leader

Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to China and will mark the normalisation of Soviet-Chinese relations established in 1949.

The first Sino-Soviet summit was held when way back in December 16, 1949 then Chinese leader Mao Zedong visited the Soviet Union several months after the founding of the People's Republic of China.

A government delegation led by Chinese Prime Minister Zhou Enlai visited the Soviet Union in September 1952.

A Soviet Government delegation led by Soviet party leader Nikita Khrushchev visited China in September-October 1954.

A Chinese delegation led by Chairman Mao Zedong visited Moscow to take part in a meeting of representatives of communist and worker parties in November 1957.

Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev met with Chinese leader Mao Zedong on July 31-August 3, 1958.

A Soviet party and government delegation led by Soviet party leader Nikita Khrushchev visited China for its tenth founding ceremony in October 1959.

A Chinese party and government delegation led by Liu Shaoqi, chairman of the Chinese People's Republic and deputy chairman of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, visited Moscow in November 1960. A Chinese party and government delegation led by Deputy Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and Prime Minister Zhou Enlai visited Moscow for the celebrations of the 47th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution in November 1964.

Soviet Prime Minister Aleksey Kosygin met Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai on a stopover from Vietnam in September 11, 1969.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze visited China in February 1989 to set the day for Mikhail Gorbachev's visit which began today.

Gorbachev PRC Visit Seen Boosting Trade

LD1205193289 Moscow TASS in English 1921 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 12 TASS—By TASS special correspondents:

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the People's Republic of China will undoubtedly give a fresh impetus to Soviet-Chinese trade and economic relations, Mikhail Titarenko, director of the Institute of the Far East of the USSR Academy of Sciences and president of the All-Union Association of Sinologists, said at a news conference held for Chinese and foreign journalists today.

Soviet-Chinese trade increased more than 10 times in 1981-1988, he recalled. China now accounts for three percent of the Soviet Union's foreign trade.

Both sides hope that trade and economic relations will go beyond the limits of traditional relations and acquire new forms. Economic cooperation will also be conducted through decentralising business relations, establishing direct contacts between separate republics, provinces, towns and enterprises, Titarenko said.

It is planned to establish joint enterprise areas, on a bilateral and multilateral bases, to attract labour force, raw materials, capital and technologies of other countries. Certain experience has been accumulated in establishing Soviet-Chinese joint enterprises with the use of Chinese labour force, Soviet technology and Chinese experience. There are therefore broad possibilities for further fruitful and mutually-beneficial cooperation between the two great neighbouring socialist countries.

Cooperative Ventures With PRC Increasing

LD1405170489 Moscow TASS in English 1559 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 14 TASS—By TASS correspondent Lyubov Dunayeva:

Business is booming between cooperative ventures in China and the Soviet Union as entrepreneurs establish direct industrial and trade relations and exchange specialists.

The Tsentrosoyuz Soviet Central Cooperative Union is expanding relations with the Chinese Federation of Cooperatives, and Chinese exchange students are studying in the Moscow Cooperative Institute.

Cooperation between Soviet regional co-op unions and Chinese provinces is also on the rise.

For instance, the Moscow Regional Cooperative Union signed a trade contract with a cooperative from Guangdong Province in China. The Soviet side will buy clothing, thermos flasks and foods and the Chinese intend to buy Soviet mineral fertilizers and timber.

Trade contacts are active with the Chinese provinces Heilongjiang and Jilin and autonomous regions in Inner Mongolia. China sells electric cars, carbide and industrial goods and buys fertilizers and electric appliances.

Joint Soviet-Chinese agricultural ventures have been set up. Chinese farmers grow melons and vegetables in the Baranovskiy state farm in the Soviet Maritime Zone. The state farm provides the necessary machinery and fertilizers and gets up to 60 percent of the products.

Soviet cooperators from the Prigranichnoye Region have agreed to build hothouses in the area with cooperators from Heilongjiang Province.

Several more joint ventures are expected to be set up in the coming months, TASS was told in Tsentrosoyuz.

USSR-PRC Trade Furthers Regional Cooperation

OW1205093589 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 5 May 89

[Station observer article]

[Text] In our previous broadcast we mentioned that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations has a beneficial impact on the international political climate as well as the military confrontation, security, and harmony in the Asia-Pacific region. Today we would like to talk about how the development of Soviet-Chinese economic and trade cooperation will affect the progress of regional cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. The following is an article by our station observer on this topic.

A complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese political relations will create the best conditions for more extensive and effective cooperation between the two countries in economy, trade, science, technology, [words indistinct], and peaceful exploitation of outer space. As the bilateral cooperation progresses under the new circumstances, it in turn will help the two countries do their share in the international cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region.

The Soviet Far East, for example, boasts rich natural resources, which have a significant part in the Soviet share in international cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. At present, 80 percent of Soviet goods exported to Asia-Pacific countries are produced in this area. This area's trade is one of the most active factors in Soviet-Chinese economic relations and trade. The border trade between the two countries resumed in 1983 after 20 years of suspension, and their border trade volume for 1988 doubled that of the previous year.

The Soviet Union and China plan to jointly produce agricultural products and construct public service facilities in Siberia and the Soviet Far East. Under the Soviet-Chinese agreement on economic and technological cooperation, the Soviet Union will take part in constructing several new, as well as renovating over 10 existing electricity, metallurgical, chemical, railway, and [words indistinct] projects.

The Soviet Far East and China's bordering areas will become an experimental site for new patterns and types of economic cooperation, among which are cooperatives in bordering areas, [words indistinct], free economic zones, bilateral joint ventures, and multilateral joint ventures with participation from the Soviet Union, China, Japan, the United States, South Korea, ASEAN countries, India, and other countries. In the future, Soviet-Chinese joint ventures may also be set up in a number of Asia-Pacific countries.

The impact of Soviet-Chinese cooperation on the economic cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region will increase as it progresses. The railway linking the Soviet Union and China and the port cities connected to those railways will help boost growing international transportation, including the shuttle (?transit) transportation between the two continents of Europe and Asia. The Trans-Siberia Railroad is a good example. The railways in Northeast China and port cities can also be included into this transport corridor.

In addition, the Soviet Union and China plan to jointly build a railway connecting Lianyunguang in China to Soviet Central Asia. Via this railway China will be linked to Europe. In the future, the railway may become a second Silk Road, via which goods from China, Japan, Southeast Asian countries, and other Asia-Pacific countries will be shipped to Europe. It will be the shortest and quickest railway to Europe with the lowest transport cost.

The above-mentioned are just a number of examples of the positive effect that Soviet-Chinese cooperation has on the (?competitiveness) of the Asia-Pacific region. It is no doubt that Mikhail S. Gorbachev's coming Beijing visit will give new thrust in this respect and be of benefit to the two countries of the Soviet Union and China, as well as other countries in the Asia-Pacific region.

PRC Teacher's Letter To Gorbachev Published

OW1205113589 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 10 May 89

[From the "World Today" program]

[Text] Dear listeners, PRAVDA has published a letter from (Tao Hong), a teacher at a middle school in (Yangze) Prefecture [as heard] of China's Jiangxi Province. His letter reads as follows:

Respected and beloved Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee:

When we learned from the newspapers that you will be visiting China in May, we were very glad. You, the respected and beloved general secretary, will be the first such high-ranking envoy of our two countries to visit in nearly 30 years. As a common middle school teacher, I am writing this letter to you on my own. I clearly understand that you have a very busy work schedule and actually have no time to read a letter from a foreigner. However, I know that your visit to China will not be common travel. I firmly believe that your visit is the realization of the common wish of the 1.3 billion people of China and the Soviet Union.

In the past 30 years, despite the fact that there was a period of differences in schools of thought [xue pai] in the 1960's, the Chinese people have never forgotten the Soviet people's assistance to us, especially their military assistance. I am convinced that the sincere Chinese people will not have a hostile attitude toward their past enemy, and still less will hold a grudge against the brotherly Soviet people. We must not extend the estrangement to the future. The people of our two countries are both seeking peace and friendship. The unhappy things should be put aside.

Of course, international affairs are quite complicated. It will not be possible to eliminate all the things formed in history within a few days. However, China and the Soviet Union are two big countries. We are both seeking friendship. The peoples of our two countries are convinced that the leaders of our two countries will certainly find common views amid their differences by exchanging opinions in an atmosphere of sincerity and frankness so as to advance Sino-Soviet relations to a new historical period.

I have often told my students that strengthening the power of the motherland, the reunification of Taiwan and the motherland, and the establishment of friendship between China and the Soviet Union are the three basic tasks.

I believe that your visit to China will certainly leave an indelible impression in the minds of the Chinese people.

Respected and beloved general secretary, although it has not been long that you have been the supreme leader of the Soviet Union, the people of the whole world have clearly seen your great contributions to alleviating tension in the world. Because of your efforts and those of your colleagues, the Soviet Union's prestige has been rapidly increasing in the minds of the world people. Please continue your efforts.

I sincerely wish you good health and a long life.

Sino-Soviet Cooperation on Encyclopedias Noted

OW1305025689 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 7 May 89

[From the "Current Events and Commentaries" program; Ilichev report]

[Text] We have already reported the China visit by a delegation of the Soviet Encyclopedia Publishing House. On this, station reporter Ilichev writes as follows.

Dear listeners, many among you may possibly have seen and bought the Chinese version of the Soviet Encyclopedia, published in China. It was the result of a collaboration between the Soviet Encyclopedia Publishing House and the China Encyclopedia Publishing House. The two publishing houses began promoting ties in creative publications in 1983. They developed the practice of effectively utilizing the [words indistinct] that they had learned from each other during this period. They exchanged information, wrote articles on a special topic, provided each other with illustrations and plates, and did statistical work on materials. For example, the Soviet Encyclopedia publishers obtained photos of Chinese aircraft from their Chinese counterparts during the recent visit to China. The photos will be used in an encyclopedia on aviation, which the Soviet Union is preparing to publish. As the Soviet Union plans to publish a dictionary on education, experts in Chinese publishing houses are examining and revising articles written by Soviet experts on the topic of national education in China. The main purpose of the recent China visit is discussing plans for continued cooperation between the two publishing houses.

(Sitlov), responsible person of the Soviet Encyclopedia Publishing House, says:

[(Sitlov) in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation] We should reach a decision on the contents of our agreement, through discussions, and fix the necessary forms of cooperation. On the other hand, it is necessary to further promote cooperation. We are trying to find new forms of cooperation through exchanging materials and information. We have reached a consensus during meeting with our Chinese counterparts that an exchange of specialized personnel between publishing houses of our two countries for compilation work and discussions, exchange of experience in publishing encyclopedias, and collaboration in compiling and publishing encyclopedias are very useful. We have discussed the possibility of publishing, in the Soviet Union, a Chinese encyclopedia, written by Chinese experts, and publishing in China a corresponding Soviet encyclopedia. We discussed relevant technical specifics of the project. We need to continue to work on these details for the purpose of making the two encyclopedias correspond to each other in both structure and content. An international book fair will be held in Moscow in September this year. We have invited our counterparts of the China Encyclopedia Publishing House to take part in the fair. We shall continue our work in this respect. During our stay in China, we witnessed China's implementation of reform and its outlook for the future. The Soviet Union has also taken the road of reform and dedication to cooperation. This similarity between our two countries is a sound foundation. The Sino-Soviet summit will achieve good results. Both the Soviet and Chinese people have high expectations for the summit. It will give new impetus to the development of bilateral relations and will be conducive to turning to better account the tremendous potential in economic and cultural cooperation between the two countries.

Sino-Vietnamese 'Differences' on Cambodia Noted

PM1205120389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS reports under the general heading: "Consultations Held"]

[Text] Beijing, 11 May—The problems of a Cambodian settlement were the main topic of the second round of deputy foreign minister-level Sino-Vietnamese consultations that ended here Wednesday.

"We hoped to advance toward a just and reasonable settlement of the Cambodian question. However, unfortunately, we did not succeed in making progress and achieving mutual understanding," PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen said. We want Cambodia, the minister continued, to be able to become an independent, peaceful, neutral, and nonaligned country that will maintain friendly relations with other countries.

Touching on Sino-Vietnamese relations, Qian Qichen stated the Chinese side's desire to normalize these relations, but only if the Cambodian problem is resolved once and for all.

Hanoi, 11 May—VNA points out that during the Vietnamese-Chinese consultations the sides secured accords on a number of questions concerning the international aspect of the Cambodian problem—to be precise, the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, the cessation of military aid to the opposing Khmer sides, international supervision, respect for Cambodia's independence and neutrality, the establishment of its status as a nonaligned country, and the speediest convocation of an international conference.

The agency reports that differences in the sides' stances were manifest during discussion of the internal aspect of the Cambodian problem. Vietnam advocates preventing the possible return to power of the genocidal Pol Pot regime and the Cambodian sides' independent solution of all domestic policy questions without outside interference.

VNA indicated that the sides noted that the consultations were useful and advocated continuing the talks, despite differences in views on resolution of the internal aspect of the problem.

Normalization of India-China Relations Urged

OW1205131289 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1400 GMT 30 Apr 89

[From the "Current Events and Commentaries" program; station observer Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] Indian Prime Minister Gandhi said at a press conference in Delhi that the Indian-Chinese Working Group, which was set up to solve the border issue, has begun to work. He expressed hope that this group will contribute to the normalization of relations between India and China. Alekseyev, an observer of this station makes the following comments:

The decision on setting up the working group was made last December when Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visited Beijing. This was one of the results achieved during his visit. India and China have highly appraised the decision, saying that it has opened up prospects for restoring traditional friendly and good-neighborly relations between the two great Asian nations. Undoubtedly, the two nations' efforts to solve border issues left over by the colonialist ruler have shown [words indictinct] between the leaders of the two nations. It is also directly related to the changing situation in Asia and the world. As Indian Minister of External Affairs Rao said: The enormously improved international political atmosphere is a [words indistinct] for Indian-Chinese relations, which are improving to our satisfaction. Rao said: The Indian prime minister's visit to Beijing last December was the first of its kind in 34 years.

Will India and China solve the border issue in good time? I don't feel like making a prediction about this. Beijing and Delhi have said the issue is very complicated and will take a lot of time to solve. However, I think the important thing is that the two sides explicitly pointed out the need to solve the issue through political dialogue during their summit—a point which, I think, is very important in view of the fact that this issue caused several armed clashes in the past. This is an embodiment of new thinking, which has won more and more support from the people across Asia and the world.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has stressed in his statement that it is especially necessary and imperative to normalize Indian-Chinese relations in the current international situation. I think this is completely right, for India and China, the two great nations that have sincerely and faithfully consolidated the peace cause, are considered highly prestigious in the Asia-Pacific region and the world. We should say that the restoration of good-neighborly relations between the two nations will be an important contribution to the peace cause.

Northeast Asia

Soviet Troops Begin Withdrawal From Mongolia

LD1405230889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2000 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Today the withdrawal of contingents of Soviet troops from the Mongolian People's Republic is beginning. According to an agreement with the Mongolian leadership, approximately 50,000 men, over 850 tanks, and about 1,100 infantry fighting vehicles and armored personnel carriers, as well as other military equipment, will be withdrawn from there by 1991. The withdrawal is being conducted under the Soviet leadership's declared general plan for a 12-percent reduction in the USSR's Armed Forces and weapons over the next 2 years.

General Sets Out Withdrawal Plans

LD1205172589 Moscow TASS in English 1714 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 12 TASS—The partial withdrawal of Soviet troops from Mongolia is scheduled to begin on May 15 when the first tank and air defence units will head for the Soviet city of Kyakhta by rail from the Mongolian stations of Erdenet and Choyr.

A tank division will be disbanded, some types of hardware will be used for civilian purposes and weapons, and military hardware will be mothballed, Colonel-General Dmitriy Grinkevich, chief of the Army general Staff, told TASS.

"A total of some 50,000 men, more than 850 tanks, nearly 1,100 fighting infantry vehicles and troop carriers, more than 820 different artillery systems, some 190 planes and 130 helicopters will be withdrawan from Mongolia to the Soviet Union in 1989-1990," he said.

"We hope that our actions will serve to promote trust, good neighbourly relations and peaceful cooperation in this large Asian region," the general said.

Grinkevich recalled that the Soviet Union has already begun to pull out its troops that have been temporarily deployed in member- countries of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation. This move was prompted by the desire to give a defensive character to Soviet forces in Europe, he said.

The withdrawal is proceeding in an organised manner with the active support of the local people, in an atmosphere of openness, he said.

TASS Details Pullout

LD1505094389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0855 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 15 May (TASS)—TASS correspondent Pavel Spirin reports: The partial withdrawal of Soviet troops from the Mongolian People's Republic [MPR] has begun. The first trains with tanks and anti-aircraft and missile installations are leaving here today. During 1989-90 more than 50,000 soldiers belonging to units being withdrawn from the MPR will return home. At the same time, more than 850 tanks, some 1100 infantry combat vehicles and armored personnel carriers, about 190 aircraft and 130 helicopters, and more than 820 various artillery systems will be brought out.

The withdrawal of significant numbers of the Soviet troops, which were in the MPR at the request of the Mongolian Government, is a result of the practical implementation of the new political thinking and the warmer international climate in the region.

Also today there was a rally at Erdenet station. The following took part: Tserendashityn Namsray, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MPRP [Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party] Central Committee, Colonel-General Jamsrangiyn Yondon, MPR Defense Minister; V.I. Sitnikov, USSR ambassador to the MPR; Colonel- General V.M. Semenov, commander of the Transbaykal Military District; other officials; and representatives of the workers.

'Last March' Reported

LD1205091489

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1430 GMT on 11 May in its "Vremya" program broadcasts a 2-minute video rpeort by T. Lordkipanidze from Mongolia on the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Mongolia.

Lordkipanidze gives the description and history of Ulaan Orhon settlement, which "was built and named by Soviet tank troops." Noting that the Soviet troops are preparing to return to the Soviet Union, Lordkipanidze says, "Now that is is spring and the Orhon river has shed its coat of ice, the time has come for our soldiers to leave. Tserendashiyn Namsray, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee; Defense Minister Colonel General Yondon; and other Mongolian comrades arrived to say farewell to our soldiers, to shake their hands, to thank them, and to wish them a good journey."

Lordkipanidze interviews an official from the Bulgan Aymak, who says that he is pleased to receive a town that can house 15,000 people. The official then discusses his plans for the town.

Lordkipanidze concludes his report by saying, "The main company of the tank division has started its last march on Mongolian soil. The tanks will travel under their own steam to Erdenet, where they will be loaded onto train platforms and the soldiers and officers will take their seats in the train carriages to set off on their journey to their homeland."

The accompanying video shows an aerial view of a wide valley with a settlement and a river, children in the streets, parked buses and a radio antenna, Mongolian women in traditional costumes, Soviet and Mongolian officers entering a building, a gathering of Soviet soliders and their families, and several unidentified officials at a rostrum. The concluding video shots are of an official talking to the camera and tanks travelling on a country road.

Near East & South Asia

Afghan Opposition Launches Offensive on Jalalabad

Offensive Repulsed

LD1205192689 Moscow TASS in English 1917 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Kabul May 12 TASS—Workers of Afghanistan's Interior Ministry today discovered in one of the districts of the Afghan capital a rebel cache of arms and ammunition. They also found leaflets and subversive literature.

In the past twenty-four hours groups of the irreconcilable opposition, supported by Pakistani Militia, undertook a new massive offensive on Jalalabad, the administrative center of Nangarhar Province.

Artillery of Pakistan's 11th and 18th Infantry Divisions shelled the city quarters and security points manned by government troops, killing four civilians and wounding six. The government troops lost three men killed and five wounded. According to a spokesman for the High Military Command, soldiers of the Jalalabad garrison repulsed the enemy offensive forcing it to retreat on some directions. The Afghan aviation raided the second echelon of the attackers putting out of action more than 80 Mujahidin guerrillas. Artillery suppressed three long-range guns, destroyed a tank and three depots with arms and ammunition, which contained some 3,500 ground-to-ground missiles.

Units of the Afghan Army conducted an operation to render harmless extremists in Parvan Province. The operation left 12 enemies of the regime killed and several dozen wounded. One soldier was killed and three others were taken to hospital with wounds.

The Afghan Foreign Ministry sent to the UN Good Offices Mission another three notes citing fresh facts of Pakistan's violation of the provisions of Geneva Accords.

Afghan Army Successes Reported

LD1405122989 Moscow TASS in English 1155 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Kabul May 14 TASS—Jalalabad garrison units go on exploiting the success achieved during a counter-attack launched in the eastern direction several days ago.

A large amount of arms and ammunition as well as two fortified positions of the enemy were captured. Artillery delivered strikes against the second echelon of the insurgents, neutralizing several long-range guns.

Twenty-six adversaries of the regime were killed and about 70 wounded over the past 24 hours during combat operations in the area of Jalalabad. There are two Saudi military instructors among those killed.

Intransigent opposition forces, supported by the artillery of the 11th and 18th Pakistani Infantry Divisions, rocketed and shelled residential blocks of Jalalabad and security posts of government troops. Two civilians were killed and eight injured.

Afghan army units carried out an operation to rout an anti-government group operating on Kabul-Jalalabad road in the area of Sorubi. Sixteen insurgents were killed and 19 wounded, and a rocket launcher, a mortar and two recoilless rifles were captured. An extremist group which terrorized local population in Parwan Province has also been routed.

The "intransigents" shelled a number of populated areas in Herat and Paktia Provinces, killing four people and wounding three. There are women and children among the casualties.

Combat Operations Across Afghanistan Reported

PM1205133589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Special correspondent A. Ivanko dispatch: "Afghanistan: News From the Fronts"]

[Text] No active combat operations have been observed around Jalalabad in recent days, but the enemy is massing forces and bringing up weapons and ammunition. On 10 May subunits of the Jalalabad garrison staged a counteroffensive and pushed the enemy back from positions they had captured earlier on the eastern approaches to the city.

The rebels' attempts to mount an offensive are being thwarted by bombing raids and artillery strikes by the government forces. The enemy has not succeeded in blocking the highway from Kabul to Jalalabad, and food, fuel, and essential goods continue to arrive along it.

Formations of the irreconcilable opposition continue to shell residential quarters of Jalalabad, the city's airport, and security posts. An act of terrorism has been thwarted in the city. A mine was detected and defused near a place where flour is being sold.

The situation around Khowst remains complex. The enemy is trying to attack government forces' positions from the northeast and the southeast and subjecting the city to continuous rocket and artillery fire. All the extremists' attacks have been rebuffed.

The "irreconcilables" continue to build up their forces in Qandahar Province. According to information from competent sources, another leader of the "Alliance of Seven" has arrived there and held a conference with rebel leaders in an attempt to coordinate the actions of the individual groups in order to capture the airport. However, they did not succeed in implementing this plan.

A tense situation persists in Kabul Province. The leaders of a number of opposition formations held a conference at Dakow-ye Payan during which they tried to overcome existing differences and concretize tasks in mounting joint operations aimed at blocking the road on the Charikar-Kabul and Kabul-Sarowbi sections.

Rocket shells and other weapons for fire attacks on Kabul are constantly arriving from Pakistan. In recent days the capital's residential areas came under fire on several occasions. On 10 May Kabul was again subjected to rocket fire, and four children were killed and two injured.

The airlift ferrying food into Kabul continues to operate.

Pakistan Prepared To Invade Afghanistan

PM1405140789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Intervention in Preparation"]

[Text] Kabul, 12 May—The Pakistani military, with U.S knowledge and support, is getting ready to launch large-scale intervention against Afghanistan, chiefly in Nangarhar Province. This was reported at a news conference for local and foreign journalists by Lieutenant General 'Abdulhaq 'Ulumi, secretary of the supreme council for the defense of the homeland.

According to the current information in our possession, he stated, the offensive is scheduled to begin 14 May. That date was chosen because 3 months have now elapsed since the Soviet troops withdrew but all the promises made by the intransigent opposition to take Jalalabad have remained unfulfilled, which irritates the Pakistani generals who planned the operation and gave the attackers full support. Islamabad has now clearly decided that the rebel gangs will be of no use and that it is possible to carry out the set task only by means of large-scale direct intervention by Pakistani Army units. It is planned to use around 15,000 officers and men in the operation. Their offensive will be supported by hundreds of tanks, which are to eliminate Jalalabad's defense zone and then fall back. This will allow the rebel detachments to burst into the city, and the operation will thus be presented to the world public as an opposition "victory."

At the present time half the troops necessary for the operation have already been concentrated along the Afghan border and in Nangarhar Province itself. The general reported the actual places of their concentration. For example, in Nangarhar Province, 3 battalions of commandos and militia have been brought up to the area of Vatikota [name as transliterated]; in Shalman [name as transliterated]—a commando regiment; 380 soldiers in the population center of Gushta, and in Batsawul—800 Pakistani servicemen. On the border, in the Khyber Pass region, 1,000 men have been assembled, and artillery pieces have been brought up.

'A. 'Ulumi noted that heightened military activity was observable in Pakistan's Baluchistan Province, where the 12th Corps is stationed. A number of its units (totaling around 600 men) have been sent from Quetta to the border points of Chaman and Shirakbuz [name as transliterated] and tanks have been brought up to Askan and Bambul.

Pakistanis Massing for Attack on Jalalabad

LD1305222589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 13 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; report by Kabul correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando]

[Text] On 15 May 3 months will have passed since the last Soviet soldier left Afghanistan. According to the forecasts of virtually all Western mass media organs, as well as political analysts, the Afghan government should have fallen, if not the day after the withdrawal of our troops was completed then at least within a couple of days. However, as you can see, the sensation that people couldn't wait for both in the West and in the region did not occur. Normal work is going on and not only in the Presidential Palace. Although the state of emergency remains in force in the country, nonetheless in the city streets you can come across construction machinery instead of tanks and armored personnel carriers increasingly frequently. This indicates that the period of fear and uncertainty about the future is gradually coming to an end, and the people are endeavoring to begin healing the wounds inflicted by the senseless war.

Nevertheless, such a development of events in the capital and in the country as a whole in no way suits the chief protector of the so-called fighters for the faith in the person of the Pakistani military clique. Having lost hope that the so-called mujahidin will capture Jalalabad, the Pakistani generals have decided to capture this town with their own forces and hand it over to the Afghan armed opposition. According to information obtained by competent bodies, the attack is planned for 14 May. An unprecedented concentration of Pakistani armed forces is being observed in border regions. Part of a unit of Pakistani troops has already violated the Afghan-Pakistani border and has assembled on the territory of Afghanistan. A total of more than 7,000 Pakistani servicemen have been brought into play for the attack on Jalalabad.

For the time being, agents of the Pakistani special services are distributing in Jalalabad these kind of rings, badges, bands, and white flags which should serve as distinguishing marks and guarantee the safety of their allies in the event of looting and robbery in the town. [video: military man shows ring, white flag]

USSR Not To Support PLO's WHO Membership

JN1205161989 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1500 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] The PLO representative at the UN Headquarters in Geneva today said that the Soviet ambassador to Switzerland told him that the Soviet Union will not support the membership application the PLO submitted to the WHO. He added that this stand has nothing to do with the Soviet policy toward the Palestine question but is prompted by the desire to see the WHO continue its humanitarian activity.

WHO Postpones Decision on PLO Membership

LD1205222889 Moscow TASS in English 2218 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Geneva May 13 TASS—After many hours of heated debates, the World Health Organisation adopted a resolution at its 42nd assembly Friday postponing for a year a decision whether to admit Palestine as a full member. The PLO has the status of observer at the World Health Organisation. The positive solution of the issue was blocked by the United States which threatened to cut off its contributions to the budget of the World Health Organisation and thus largely to paralyse its activities.

As a result of the stalemate, a compromise resolution was adopted urging the WHO director general to continue to study the issue and to present a report at the next session of the assembly. Eighty three delegates voted for the resolution and 47 against urging to satisfy the PLO request already at the current session.

East Europe

Defense Minister Yazov Visits CSSR 10-13 May

Arrives in Prague

AU1005112489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR minister of defense, arrived in Czechoslovakia today for an official friendly visit. The guest was welcomed at the Ruzyne Airport by Army General Milan Vaclavik, minister of national defense, and by other representatives of the Czechoslovak People's Army. Colonel General Nikolay Zotov, senior representative of the commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states attached to the CSSR Minister of National Defense, and Colonel General Eduard Vorobyev, commander of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in Czechoslovakia, were also present on the occasion.

Meets Vaclavik on Combat Cooperation

LD1005162589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1518 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] [No dateline as received] Army General D.T. Yazov has paid a visit to Army General M. Vaclavik. During the conversation, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, both sides confirmed with satisfaction the successful development of cooperation between the USSR and the CSSR. They discussed questions concerning the further consolidation of combat cooperation between the USSR Armed Forces and the CSSR People's Army based on the glorious traditions of brotherhood in arms of the two countries' peoples in their struggle against a common enemy during World War II. Both sides expressed their determination to continue to strengthen the friendship and combat brotherhood between the Soviet Army, the Czechoslovak People's Army and the armies of the other Warsaw Pact member states in the interests of consolidating universal peace and the security of the peoples. An exchange of information took place on problems concerning military construction in the USSR and the CSSR on the basis of the defensive military doctrine in the light of the decision taken by the fraternal countries on reducing their armed forces.

The USSR defense minister laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. A wreath was also laid at the memorial to Soviet servicemen in Olsany cemetery.

The CSSR national defense minister gave a dinner in honor of his Soviet guest.

Meets With Jakes

LD1105185889 Moscow TASS in English 1855 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Prague May 11 TASS—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, met on Thursday [11 May] with Soviet Defence Minister General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, who is in Czechoslovakia on an official friendly visit.

In the course of the conversation, Jakes told Yazov about the activity, the immediate tasks of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the main trends in the communists' work in the interests of restructuring and securing progress of Czechoslovak society.

General Yazov informed the general secretary about the process of perestroyka in the Soviet Union, including in the armed forces, and about the implementation of the decisions adopted at the 19th All- Union Party Conference and the April 1989 Plenum of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee.

In discussing pressing international issues, the coincidence was noted in the positions of the two fratenral countries as to the world and European problems and the desire was expressed for extensive cooperation in the name of consolidating the new political thinking in international relations and putting into life the peaceful initiatives advanced by the Warsaw Pact member-states.

On Thursday, General Yazov was received by President Gustav Husak of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. In the course of the conversation, aspects of cooperation in the military field were examined with due account of the realization in practice of the principles of the defensive military doctrine and of the decisions on the unilateral reduction of the armed forces.

Visits Military School

LD1205140189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1155 12 May 89

[Text] Prague, 12 May (TASS)—Army General D.T.Yazov, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR defense minister, is in the CSSR on an official friendly visit. Today he visited the General Svoboda ground forces military school in Vyshkov.

Combat cooperation between the Soviet Army and the Czechoslovak People's Army was born during the harsh years of battle against fascism, he said addressing a Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship meeting. The duty of today's generation of Soviet and Czechoslovak soldiers is to multiply the glorious traditions of combat cooperation and internationalism and to strengthen cooperation within the framework of our defensive alliance, the Warsaw Treaty Organization, which is a reliable guarantor of socialism's gains.

The Soviet guest familiarized himself with the teaching and facilities of the school and watched tactical exercises by the students.

The same day the USSR defense minister visited the Slushovice agro-combinat, where he familiarized himself with the way of life of rural workers.

Speaks at Military School

LD1205202889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 12 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia by USSR Defense Minister Comrade Yazov is continuing. Today the Soviet guests were received at the Higher Military Training School of Infantry Troops in the town of Vyshkov. It is a modern and well-equipped major military school which trains tank officers, motorized riflemen and engineers, chemical defense experts, and rear services experts. When an electronic trainer tank was being examined, Comrade Yazov asked how much it cost, and the reply came: quite a lot, 3.5 million [units not given]. But the trainer enables tank fuel to be saved, and it is necessary to calculate what is more economical. Just 2 or 3 years ago such a question would hardly have been asked, and such reflections would have evoked the reply: Now we are beginning to calculate—tanks, money, aircraft. Here in Czechoslovakia defense expenditure will be cut by 15 percent in the next 2 years. The number of soldiers and officers will be reduced by 12,000. [video shows Yazov arriving at training school; he inspects trainer tank along with other Soviet and CSSR officers; he is then seen watching tank maneuvers from a command post].

Speaking at a meeting which took place at the training school, Comrade Yazov stressed that we are making our way toward the West on the road to a secure and peaceful world, and we expect a step in response.

[Begin Yazov recording] Along with the other Warsaw Pact countries, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia are struggling for the elimination of the danger of war in Europe, for the prevention of war, for the preservation of peace throughout the world. We advocate creating a new model of universal security that is equal for all peoples and states, in the spirit of the new political thinking and of the practical transition initiated by us from a position of excessive arming to one of reasonable defense sufficiency. And we are doing everything that depends (?on us) for such a model to be established. [end recording]

Visits Slovakia, Ends Visit

LD1305141689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1337 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Bratislava, 13 May (TASS)—Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, who is in the CSSR on an official friendly visit, arrived today in the capital of Slovakia.

The visitor honored the memory of those who fought against fascism, and laid a wreath at the monument to the participants in the Slovak national uprising. A wreath was also laid at the memorial to Soviet liberating troops on Slavin Hill.

The USSR defense minister had a meeting with I. Janak, first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, and I. Knotek, premier of the republic's government, who are members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Presidium, at which several questions relating to the development of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation were discussed.

In the afternoon, Army General D.T. Yazov left Bratislava for home.

He was seen of at the airport by Army General M. Vaclavik, CSSR national defense minister, and by other officials.

Met by Vlasov in Moscow

LD1305163689 Moscow TASS in English 1525 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—Defence Minister of the USSR, Army General Dmitriy Yazov returned to Moscow today upon completion of his official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia.

At the airport he was met by alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation Aleksandr Vlasov, other officials.

West Europe

Shevardnadze Pays Working Visit To Bonn 12-13 May

Leaves Moscow for Bonn

LD1205121289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze left Moscow for Bonn today on a brief working visit to prepare Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to West Germany next June. At the airport, Comrade Shevardnadze was seen off by Zaykov, member of the Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow city party committee, and other officials.

Arrives in Bonn 12 May

LD1205150689 Moscow TASS in English 1451 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Bonn May 12 TASS—Member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and Foreign Minister of the USSR Eduard Shevardnadze arrived for a working visit in Bonn today.

At the airport he was met by Deputy Federal Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. The Soviet ambassador in the FRG Yuliy Kvitsinskiy and West German Ambassador in the USSR Andreas Meyer-Landruth were among the welcoming party.

Eduard Shevardnadze will meet West German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Hans-Dietrich Genscher to discuss specific issues linked with preparations for Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's mid-June official visit to West Germany.

Addresses Journalists at Airport

LD1205165989 Moscow TASS in English 1645 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Bonn May 12 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told journalists at the airport upon his arrival in Bonn that the relations between the USSR and West Germany are developing successfully, particularly after Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to Moscow last autumn when the sides came to the conclusion that it was high time to turn a new page in the Soviet- West German relations.

One cannot stop at what has been achieved, he said. Both countries have not yet fully put into play their huge potential to further improve their relations and to promote mutually-beneficial equitable cooperation in the interests of the European peoples and the whole world. In this sense we attach great significance to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to West Germany. I have come to make preparations jointly with West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher for the visit.

If all goes well as planned, I believe that the visit will help elevate the relations between our two countries to a higher level, Shevardnadze stressed. Answering one of the questions, the Soviet foreign minister declared in support of the "third zero option", that is full elimination of nuclear weapons in Europe. This is our ultimate goal, he said.

Preparation for Gorbachev Visit Noted

AU1205111289 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 12 May 89 p 6

[Report by "UB": "The Berlin Problem Is Still Causing Difficulties"]

[Text] Bonn—The Federal Government attaches "considerable importance" to the joint communique on Gorbachev's visit to Bonn in mid-June. According to a Foreign Ministry statement on Friday [12 May], it will not be a communique of the usual type, but a document that will "look forward." In this document, the sides will try to find an answer to the question about the international problems on the threshold of the third millennium, and to describe what a "policy across the borders of systems" must be like. In this respect, the role played by Europe is of decisive importance, states the Foreign Ministry.

The joint statement and several agreements are the main topics that Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze will discuss with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher in Bonn on Friday and Saturday [12-13 May] in preparation for Gorbachev's visit. According to diplomatic sources, some political "impetus" is required now to make the negotiations a success, including on areas that are still causing difficulties. Shevardnadze will first meet with the federal chancellor on Friday afternoon, and will then meet with the foreign minister several times before leaving on Saturday at noon.

As has so often been the case, obviously the Berlin problem is causing difficulties. Bonn considers it important for Berlin to take part in the development of German-Soviet relations, irrespective of different interpretations of the law. Apparently because of the unresolved problem about the inclusion of Berlin, it is not yet certain whether the agreement on inland navigation and ocean shipping—negotiations on which were concluded long ago, except for this point—will be signed.

According to the Foreign Ministry, the negotiations on a number of agreements are satisfactory on the whole. It is the common goal of the German and Soviet sides to make as many of these agreements as possible ready for signing up until Gorbachev's visit. The Foreign Ministry lists the following agreements:

—the protection of investments;
—the training and advanced training of Soviet managers;
—youth exchange;

—setting up cultural institutes;
—projects of cooperation in space;
—the exchange of scientists;
—the exchange of teachers and pupils;
—assistance in accidents and natural disasters;
—the return of the Hanse archives.

Agreement has been achieved on the structure, the construction, and the sequel of the joint statement. However, Shevardnadze and Genscher will have to discuss a number of open formulations. The description of the future role that Europe in its entirety will play in the world will also include the area of disarmament and arms control.

The federal foreign minister is interested in getting from Shevardnadze an assessment of Soviet-U.S. relations. Before meeting with his Moscow counterpart in Bonn, the federal foreign minister will have heard an assessment of this relationship by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

Shevardnadze, Kohl Hold Talks

LD1205191489 Moscow TASS in English 1908 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Bonn May 12 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and USSR Foreign Minister, on a working visit here, met with Helmut Kohl, FRG Chancellor, on Friday [12 May]. During the conversation that was held in the mainstream of the widening constructive mutual understanding between the two countries they had a substantive businesslike exchange of opinions on topical themes of bilateral relations, as well as on major international problems.

Questions of the preparation for an official visit of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the FRG, was in the focus of attention. The sides discussed the course of the implementation of a programme of bilateral functions agreed upon the results of the visit to Moscow by Chancellor Kohl in October 1988. [sentence as received] The sides declared in favour of completing shortly the drafting of a joint political document for the coming Soviet-West German summit.

A marked progress in the drafting of a number of agreements in practical areas to be signed during the forthcoming visit of the Soviet leader was noted with satisfaction. By mutual conviction this visit is called upon to continue vigorously the started movement to new milestones in the versatile cooperation between the two countries, to impart to it a faster pace and larger scope, to give a steady impetus to the increase of confidence and mutual understanding.

During the discussion of international problems, the emphasis was placed on European affairs. Shevardnadze informed the Chancellor of the results of the talks in Moscow with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, emphasizing particularly problems of disarmament, their importance for Europe's peaceful future.

The USSR foreign minister explained the essence of the Soviet Union's new large-scale proposals in the area, including its decision to unilaterally withdraw 500 charges of tactical nuclear weapons systems from the territories of its allies as early as this year, which was announced by Gorbachev in his conversation with Baker. In 1989-1991, the Soviet Union is prepared to withdraw entire nuclear ammunition from the territories of its allies provided the United States takes a similar reciprocal step.

This new Soviet action is organically linked with an address to NATO countries adopted at the Berlin meeting of the committee of foreign ministers of the Warsaw Treaty countries. The address makes a call to countries to start shortly separate talks on tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. It was emphasized that the Warsaw Treaty countries propose, as Europeans wish, to move only forward, to stage- by-stage reduction and subsequent elimination of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe. On the contrary, modernisation of tactical nuclear weapon systems and their build-up would be an obvious step backwards, would not be in keeping with sound tendencies of the development of the situation in Europe.

Chancellor Kohl received with interest the new Soviet initiatives. He noted particularly the importance of the beginning of the Soviet leadership's dialogue with the new U.S. Administration, the importance of talks on a wide range of questions, including questions of disarmament. The Chancellor emphasized the need to achieve a prompt and substantial progress at the Vienna talks which would have a strong stabilizing impact on the entire situation in Europe.

The sides noted a large importance of a Soviet-Chinese summit whose purpose is to normalise relations between the two great powers, which would become a major factor of a positive development in the world.

Shevardnadze-Genscher Talks Reviewed

LD1305183689 Moscow TASS in English 1822 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Bonn May 13 TASS—By TASS correspondents Vladimir Serov, Nikolay Kalintsev and Gennadiy Kulbitsky:

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who stayed on a brief working visit in West Germany, held negotiations with Deputy Federal Chancellor and Foreign Minister of the FRG Hans-Diestrich Genscher.

A broad range of questions of bilateral relations with a view of preparations for Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's official visit to West Germany, and also a number of topical international problems were thoroughly discussed in a businesslike and agreeable atmosphere.

The foreign ministers discussed the course of drafting a joint statement which is planned to be adopted during the Soviet summit visit, and declared for its final wording to really signify a transition of bilateral relations to a qualitatively new stage and clearly determine the guidelines of their development for a long term.

The two sides noted with satisfaction appreciable progress in realisation of the accords, reached at the Moscow summit negotiations in October 1988. They stressed it was important to actively continue this work and draft new bilateral agreements so as to have a solid store of both projects which are under way and new undertakings in time for Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to West Germany.

They also discussed questions of economic interaction between the USSR and West Germany and noted some positive changes in this and other spheres and also the still existing problems. Shevardnadze underlined Genscher's weighty personal contribution to the deepening and development of mutual understanding and cooperation between the two countries.

The interlocutors thoroughly discussed problems of disarmament and security in Europe, and noted that the positive dynamics of the current world development is conducive to the disarmament process.

Shevardnadze stressed it was necessary to lead things to establishing the European continent's security on the principles of new political thinking, to construct durable bridges of mutual understanding and constructive cooperation in these issues. Having assessed the first round of the Vienna negotiations on conventional armaments and also on confidence-building measures and security in Europe as businesslike and constructive, the sides agreed that the USSR and West Germany were able to do much to promote success of these negotiations.

When the question of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe was discussed, Genscher set forth the West German Government's known views on that quesiton.

Shevardnadze noted the coincidence of the sides' positions concerning the expediency of holding early negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons and said that the negotiations should embrace all types of these weapons equally dangerous to the Europeans. The weapons include nuclear components of double-purpose systems. He stressed that realisation of plans of modernisation of tactical nuclear systems in Europe would mean a challenge to the Europeans' vital aspirations, real interests of consolidation of security on the continent, and would discard the entire process of bringing down the level of East-West military confrontation.

The ministers agreed that the Soviet-West German dialogue on prohibition of chemical weapons had acquired a solid and constructive character and was becoming a more significant factor in the international efforts aimed at chemical disarmament. The Soviet side stated it was necessary to use to the utmost the positive potential of mutual understanding between the USSR and West Germany to accelerate and complete negotiations on that question in Geneva.

The situation in some parts of the world was discussed. The sides' unanimous opinion was that settlement of conflicts there was possible only through peaceful political means.

Shevardnadze briefed Genscher in detail about the course of perestroyka, democratisation, preparations for a Congress of Soviet People's Deputies and dwelt on economic and social reforms in the USSR, the first results of reconstruction of the political system.

Genscher actively supported processes of renewal, democratisation and acceleration of development of the Soviet Union, of increasing its economic potential.

The foreign ministers signed a protocol between the Soviet and West German Governments on aid to Armenia which envisages assistance in restoring the head of live-stock in earthquake-hit areas, and construction of an orthopaedic centre.

Shevardnadze Holds News Conference

PM1505083189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
14 May 89 Second Edition pp 4-5

[TASS report on Shevardnadze's 13 May Bonn news conference; "News Conference in Bonn"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Addressing journalists in Bonn on 13 May, E.A. Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR minister of foreign affairs stated:

We came to Bonn on the eve of a very important and major event in relations between our two countries—the Soviet-West German summit meeting—to do necessary work in preparation for the visit to the FRG by M.S. Gorbachev. This was the main subject of our conversations with Chancellor Kohl and my colleague Herr Genscher. We discussed the state of affairs in literally all areas of our relations: political, economic, scientific and technical, cultural, humanitarian, and others.

On the results of the summit meeting we have in mind to adopt a joint political document that would become a new word in relations between the two countries and mark out precisely the landmarks of cooperation and inter-action for the future. I can now say that this document has almost been agreed upon. We have managed to find solutions in principle on those of its elements where the sides had difficulties. Of course additional discussion of individual parts of the wording will be required, but we have complete confidence that everything will be ready at the right time.

With Herr Genscher we examined the state of readiness of a number of new agreements which could be signed during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the FRG. In particular this refers to agreements on the encouragement and protection of investments; on cooperation in training and in raising the qualifications of Soviet specialists and leading cadres in the economy; on centers of industry and trade in the USSR and the FRG; on cultural centers; on exchanges in the field of science and higher education; on young people's—including school—exchanges. Here, too, it was necessary to find a way of settling some differences. In principle this was achieved and I think that the agreements I have mentioned will be concluded.

As you understand, the point of meetings between leaders at summit level is not just and not so much in the signing of any particular documents. First and foremost it lies in the formation of the philosophical and conceptual basis of political relations, in the establishment of mutual understanding and in bringing out those areas where agreement or a balance of interests might be found.

It is natural that the problem of security in all its dimensions is the central topic of contact between states. In relations between the Soviet Union and the FRG these dimensions are extremely great both on the European scale and on the global level. Hence the need for a constant dialogue on the circle of questions which it is the custom to call military and political.

That is why we consider it important that those in the FRG should be as well informed as possible about the positions and the approaches of the Soviet Union to the problem of ensuring security. Proceeding from this we have informed Chancellor Kohl and Minister Genscher about the proposals which were set out by M.S. Gorbachev to U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker.

To make our conversation more meaningful I will briefly set out the main parameters of these proposals. They concern two inter-linked fields: European conventional forces and tactical nuclear armaments.

What are we talking about? About a program for levelling the troop strength and the quantities of armaments of the two military and political alliances in Europe at levels that are considerably lower than those that are currently in existence; and about the elimination of superiority in the main types of armaments no matter who may have it.

We are proposing that the Vienna talks be given the task of working out over a period of 1 or 2 years an agreement that would establish the following identical levels of troops and armaments for NATO and the Warsaw Treaty:

For personnel	1,350,000 people
For military aircraft of the tactical air force	1,500 units
For military helicopters	1,700 units
For tanks	20,000 units
For artillery, mortars and salvo fire systems	24,000 units
For military vehicles for the infantry	28,000 units

Are these quantities large or small? For an answer to that question it is sufficient to say that if these proposals were adopted, then the West would have to reduce 2,500 aircraft and the East 40,000 tanks, 46,000 artillery systems and 42,000 military vehicles for the infantry and armored transporters.

I have been giving the upper limits. Each alliance would reduce all of these armaments. Of course, all of this would be done under the strictest international monitoring, including permanent posts, on-site inspections, and surprise inspections without the right of refusal. In the very near future the Soviet delegation at the Vienna talks will put forward the appropriate drafts for consideration by the participants.

Another point: It is necessary to begin a serious conversation about tactical nuclear weapons. We are beginning it with the announcement that the Soviet Union is this year unilaterally withdrawing 500 warheads of tactical nuclear systems, of which 166 are aircraft systems, 50 artillery, and 284 missiles from the territory of European states allied with it. We will be prepared to discuss the procedure for their destruction with our partners.

At the same time, M.S.Gorbachev stated—and this is, in my view, very important—that the Soviet Union is prepared in the years 1989-1991 to withdraw altogether from the territory of its allies all nuclear munitions on the condition that the United States also undertakes a similar step in response. The proposal of the Warsaw Treaty countries on an urgent start to talks on tactical nuclear weapons naturally remains in force.

Such are the proposals outlined to U.S Secretary of State J.Baker. They reflect the principled philosophy of the Soviet approach to the problems of guaranteeing stability and security at minimum levels of armed forces, and to the problem of the transition to such a structure and composition of these as would correspond to the principles of defense sufficiency and would create confidence that the sides are proceeding from military doctrines that do not have an offensive purpose.

One also ought to examine in precisely this context the general position of the Soviet Union in respect of tactical nuclear weapons, and its readiness to begin talks with the purpose of total elimination of them, and the unilateral steps to withdraw Soviet nuclear munitions from the territory of allied European countries.

I would like, in this connection, to emphasize the following. The question of the future of tactical nuclear weapons cannot be decided in isolation from those tendencies which have strengthened in recent years in relations between East and West and especially in isolation from those processes which are happening in the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty countries, or from the specific steps taken by it in the military sphere in the past few years.

In the opinion of the Soviet leadership, the problem of tactical armaments must be resolved in the spirit of the new thinking. In no way should it become an impediment to Europe moving toward guaranteeing peace, stability, and security through reducing and limiting military arsenals, through reliance on political means, on mutual openness, and measures of verification and trust.

In what way are our opponents in the West attempting to justify the need for modernization of tactical nuclear armaments?

First: By the advantage of the East in conventional weapons. Yes, we do currently possess an advantage in individual categories of armaments. But we are renouncing it and are prepared to establish complete equality in troops and in armaments. This will probably take 5-7 years. The realities dictate such a period. Withdrawing and eliminating 40,000 tanks in 1 or 2 years is not a serious formulation of the question. Because it is even physically impossible to do that in such an amount of time. So this argument too is removed.

Second: By our advantage in tactical nuclear missiles. Yes, we do have one in missiles, and a considerable one, but if one takes the entire category of tactical armaments, and includes in it air and other systems, then one does not have to speak of an advantage. Moreover, we are clearly demonstrating that we are prepared to also reduce the tactical nuclear weapons which we possess and generally to withdraw and destroy all nuclear tactical systems on a mutual basis through negotiations.

The modernization will take several years. Talks on reduction, withdrawal, and destruction of tactical nuclear armaments could bring a result in an even shorter amount of time.

Third: The West is attempting to justify the need for modernization of tactical missiles by references to the fact that the Soviet Union has conducted modernization of its missiles. Yes, we were replacing them even at the beginning of the eighties, but with missiles of exactly the same range and the same types, i.e. not obtaining thereby a fundamentally different and higher quality arsenal. We have not been conducting any modernization or replacement in recent times and do not intend to conduct any. Incidentally, why does the West not "exchange" its old missiles for our newer ones, if such exist? After all, precisely such an exchange would come out of talks.

Fourth. They back up the idea of modernization by the needs of the so-called flexible response doctrine. They allege that peace in Europe depends on it, but peace in Europe existed even when there was another doctrine and when there were no tactical nuclear weapons at all. After all, in exactly the same way we can say that peace in Europe has been maintained all these years due to the 40,000 Soviet tanks. The old doctrine does not deter us. Doctrines must correspond to specific conditions, to the realities of the contemporary world, and must not look back to the "cold war" period. If the doctrine comes into contradiction with those realities, then it must be reviewed. No doctrine may be an impediment to a more durable and secure peace.

Incidentally, we also propose talking about doctrines, too. We are ready to discuss specifically with the United States that same doctrine of flexible response.

Then, why should one be afraid of negotiations altogether? For no one will compel anyone through negotiations to do something he finds unacceptable. The rejection of negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons forces one to think that those occupying such a position may have some other motives which compel them to avoid talks.

In connection with the topic of modernization, I should like to single out one aspect of this. For modernization a new missile is being developed [sozdayetsya] with a range equal to that of the Soviet Oka missile (SS-23), which is now being eliminated in accordance with the Soviet-U.S. treaty.

Here we are already dealing with another problem—with an attempt to circumvent the accord on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, an attempt which may jeopardize this major international agreement, to the concluding of which many European states, including the FRG, made a contribution. Why should we destroy SS-23 missiles, if the other side is developing and will deploy [sozdayet i budet razvertyvat] similar Lance-2 missiles?

The problems here are not to be resolved by scholastic exercises. The fact is that there will be two identical missiles, but the Soviet one will be destroyed while the U.S. one will be manufactured.

Elementary common sense, to say nothing of political sense, cannot accept such a thing. We hope that old dogmas and stereotypes will not stand in the way of this great breakthrough in European policy, which was begun by joint efforts and which is confidently advancing to join the ranks of the determining factors of world policy.

It is perhaps better not to install weapons at all than to wrack one's brains afterward over how to get rid of them. We now have a chance to think everything through and discuss everything thorougly to start with, and then to decide whether to take actions which will clearly thrust us backward, and which may even turn out to have unpredictable consequences.

One would like to hope that the administration of U.S. President G. Bush will extend the review of its policy in the security sphere, which it has undertaken and which, as we understand, has not yet been completed, to include the approach to the question of tactical nuclear weapons.

As I have already told journalists in Moscow after the end of talks with Mr Baker, we would not wish to, and indeed cannot, put forward any judgment on the way in which the U.S. positions at the talks on disarmament and confidence-building will be transformed. We regard as important the accord reached on resuming work on problems of nuclear and space weapons, and cessation of nuclear tests, on chemical weapons and in the standing consultative commission on the ABM Treaty.

The Soviet leadership also welcomes the readiness of the new administration to increase the intensity of political dialogue by means of conducting meetings between ministers and consultations at expert level. There is also an understanding in respect of the fact that in September the sides will discuss the question of possible schedules for holding a meeting between the top leaders of the two great powers.

We are confident that ending the pause in the Soviet-U.S. dialogue will also favorably influence the development of negotiations on European disarmament, where very good prospects are being mapped out for us.

In our contacts with European leaders, including at the meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and Chancellor Kohl, we will actively, and with initiative, strive toward strengthening and increasing the positive elements, and will work toward reinforcing mutual understanding, stability, and peace in the conditions of expanding cooperation and interaction between the European peoples.

E.A. Shevardnadze replied to questions from journalists:

Question: You said that during your talks with your colleague Herr Genscher you managed to overcome some differences on the documents under preparation, in particular there was talk of the "Berlin formula," that is to say the involvement of West Berlin in Soviet- West German cooperation. If this is indeed the case, then why did you not mention the agreement on shipping?

Answer: As far as the "West Berlin element" in the political document is concerned, we reached agreement. I think that the formula which has been set down in the draft document corresponds to the interests of our countries, of the whole of Europe, and of the residents of West Berlin. It is a good formula, if only this document is approved and confirmed by our leaders. We have not yet reached a final decision on the shipping agreement. The experts have been instructed to continue their work. Perhaps mutually acceptable solutions will be found before the visit of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

Question: NATO favors having a small quantity of tactical nuclear weapons. You, however, the Soviet side, insist the whole time upon the "third zero." Perhaps you are thereby wanting to split NATO and achieve a U.S. withdrawal from Western Europe?

Answer: It would be naive if we were building such plans. We are opposed to nuclear weapons on considerations of principle. The USSR has put forward a concept and utterly realistic proposals for the elimination of all nuclear arsenals by the year 2,000, including tactical nuclear weapons. In the final analysis what are we proposing that is so terrible? On the one hand we have taken some highly substantial, unilateral steps; on the other hand, we are proposing that talks be started. If talks take place on strategic offensive armaments, on chemical weapons and on all the other problems, then why should short range tactical missiles remain outside the talks? That is an abnormal situation.

Question: Are you not disappointed by the fact that the U.S. side rejected the Soviet proposal on tactical nuclear weapons so quickly?

Answer: We have strong nerves. Of course it would be a good thing if the Americans agreed immediately but we understand that NATO still has to determine its position, and make a decision on a collective basis. In the very near future a summit meeting is to take place in NATO. I hope that a solid and serious discussion of all these problems will take place there. We will await the results, but we will also act.

Question: Should what you have been saying be understood to mean that if NATO makes a decision shortly to modernize, then you will suspend the withdrawal of SS-23 missiles and will stop destroying them?

Answer: This has to be considered. Will there then be any point in destroying these missiles? Or, in that case, we will possibly have to create [sozdavat] new systems and thus react to the NATO decision.

Question: You said new systems?

Answer: We shall either have to suspend the destruction of the SS- 23 missiles or create other systems, but that would not be our choice.

Question: NATO, as is known, rejects the "third zero" on missiles. Would the Soviet Union not be willing to hold talks at first on reducing missiles of that class in order to begin talks about their ultimate elimination, that is to say, about the "third zero"—later, in a more favorable atmosphere?

Answer: I proposed to Mr Baker and I confirm this now: To start with perhaps we will reach a stage-by-stage solution. Perhaps the Americans will also be able to support in the talks M.S. Gorbachev's global proposal that all nuclear munitions should be removed from the territory of allies altogether. Discussion is needed.

Question: How does the Soviet Government assess the latest speech by the U.S. President, in which he spoke of willingness to give economic assistance to the Soviet Union under certain conditions?

Answer: Frankly speaking, I have not yet been able to acquaint myself in detail with President Bush's latest speech. The U.S. Administration, and the President and Mr Baker in particular, are showing enormous interest in the problems of restructuring in the Soviet Union. They have repeatedly wished restructuring success. Let us see what they have in mind.

Shevardnadze Concludes Visit

LD1305231489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 13 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The working visit by Comrade Shevardnadze to the FRG ended today. Our correspondent in Bonn reports:

[V. Kondratyev, identified by caption] When journalists arrived this morning at the appointed time for a photo call, work was in full swing in the residence of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the world's longest serving foreign minister. Many problems were discussed, and first and foremost among the subjects of today's conversation was the need to work out a political document to be adopted in June during the visit by Comrade Gorbachev to the FRG, a document which upon reading, to quote Federal Chancellor Kohl, it will be clear to everyone that we want to open a new chapter in our relations. Now this document has been almost agreed upon. It has been possible to find principled solutions to some of its aspects where the sides are having difficulties. [video shows photographers; Shevardnadze, Genscher on sofa, with aides]

The ministers signed a protocol today envisaging the provision of help to Armenia, which suffered the earthquake. As early as next week the dispatch of thousands of head of pedigree cattle will start from the FRG to restore stockbreeding in the republic. It is also planned to build an orthopedic center this year with FRG help. [video shows signing, exchanging of documents, hand shakes]

The fact that in a change to the program the foreign ministers decided after all to hold a press conference is being seen here as proof of their successful dialogue.

Speaking to journalists in the Soviet Embassy, Comrade Shevardnadze said on the subject of the work done in Bonn in preparation for the visit by Comrade Gorbachev:

[Begin Shevardnadze recording] We examined with Herr Genscher the state of readiness of a number of new agreements which could be signed during the visit to the FRG by the general secretary. In particular this refers to agreements on the encouragement and protection of investments; on cooperation in training and in raising the qualifications of Soviet specialists and leading cadres in the economy; on centers of industry and trade in the USSR and the FRG; on cultural centers; on exchanges in the field of science and higher education; on young people's—including school—exchanges and so on. [end recording] [passage omitted]

So the working visit has ended, which, in spite of its brevity, was marked out by fruitful and important results. At the airport, where Comrade Shevardnadze was seen off by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, at their farewells the ministers expressed once again their conviction in the success of the very important and significant event in the relations of our two countries: the Soviet-German summit meeting to take place in a month from now.

Genscher Sees Off Shevardnadze

LD1305135289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1335 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Bonn, 13 May (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, who has been in the FRG on a working visit, left for home today.

At the airport E.A. Shevardnadze was seen off by Hans-Dietrich Genscher, deputy federal chancellor of the FRG and foreign minister. Those seeing him off included Yu. A. Kvitsinskiy, USSR ambassador to the FRG, and Andreas Meyer-Landrut, FRG ambassador to the USSR.

Shevardnadze Returns to Moscow

LD1305172189 Moscow TASS in English 1715 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—The Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze returned to Moscow from Bonn today upon completion of his working visit to West Germany.

At the airport he was met by Member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, CPSU Central Committee Secretary, First Secretary of the Moscow City Committee of the CPSU Lev Zaykov and other officials.

Sakharov Addresses Italy's Socialist Party 14 May

AU1405181389 Paris AFP in English 1727 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Milan, Italy, May 14 (AFP)—Soviet physicist Andrey Sakharov called on world opinion Sunday to "support perestroyka independently of individuals" but warned that the Soviet Union was heading for "economic catastrophe".

The Nobel Peace Prize winner, on a one-day surprise visit to Italy, expressed support for the current Soviet reform programme known as perestroyka despite "the contradictions, the compromises and even the vices" involved in some of the measures being taken.

He described some reform measures taken recently as "anti-democratic".

Mr. Sakharov stressed the importance of the revamped Soviet parliament, the Congress of People's Deputies, which "must undertake essential changes in the country, particularly as regards the economy and the nationalist issue".

The congress is to convene for its constituent session later this month.

"Democratization (is) absolutely necessary considering the extremely complicated situation" in the Soviet Union, he said.

The former dissident pointed to the dismal economic situation which he said could only become worse.

"The budget deficit has reached an astronomic figure that exceeds 100 billion rubles. Economic reforms are carried out ever so slowly," he said.

"The old centralized system has been broken up which is fair enough. The problem is that it has not been replaced by anything else."

"We may say that the country is heading towards economic catastrophe," he said.

Turning to the nationality issue, Mr. Sakharov highlighted serious "inequalities between smaller and bigger nations" making up the Soviet Union and "the possibility for the big ones to crack down on the small ones".

Mr. Sakharov said he "would not hesitate to qualify several political decisions taken this year as anti-democratic."

He pinpointed the latest decrees restricting the freedom of assembly and giving extensive powers to the interior ministry's special forces.

Mr. Sakharov was addressing a congress of Italy's Socialist Party, headed by secretary-general Bettino Craxi. He expressed his "warm thanks" for support given by Mr. Craxi during the period he spent in internal exile at Gorkiy under former Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev.

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. Forces Arrive, Tension Mounts in Panama

'TASS Statement' on Situation

LD1305182689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1733 GMT 13 May 89

[TASS statement]

[Text] Moscow 13 May (TASS)—The reports coming in of the situation in and around Panama cannot but provoke serious concern.

As is known, general elections were held in Panama on 7 May. They took place in the conditions of an extremely acute internal situation that is being aggravated by the anti-Panamanian campaign, which has been unleashed by the United States and which has continued for over a year. In the course of it use has been made of economic sanctions, and psychological pressure, and ultimata are being issued.

Whatever attitude one takes to what is going on in Panama, it is clear that only the Panamanian people itself can and must make its internal choice. The concern for democracy—and that is how Washington's line on Panama is being presented—is nothing more than interference in internal affairs, disdain for the elementary norms of international law. Of late there has been a dangerous escalation in the U.S. military presence on the territory of this country in the Panama Canal Zone, which is generating alarm among the international community.

It is the duty of all peace-loving democratic forces to prevent the dangerous development of events in that direction and the formation of a new seat of tension. External pressure and provocation of an internal conflict in Panama must be halted immediately. Only strict respect for the sovereignty and independence of the Panamanian people can stop the situation deteriorating to a critical point. Of no small importance is the demonstration of good sense—and mutual restraint on the part of the opposing forces in Panama, too—and concern above all and exclusively for the interests of the Panamanian people.

The immediate halt to the stocking up of tension around Panama and the normalization of the situation here depend largely on the positions of the Latin American countries, too. Given this, it is impossible not to welcome the statement by the "Rio de Janeiro Group" on its interest in maintaining peace and stability in the region, on the unacceptability of any outside interference in Panamanian affairs, and on the need for undeviating observance of the treaties on the Panamanian Canal.

The Soviet Union considers it impermissible to take advantage of the situation that has arisen in Panama as an excuse to undermine her sovereignty, condemns actions that flout the right of peoples to a free choice of the path of their development, and sincerely hopes that the situation in and around Panama will be normalized.

U.S. Military Units Arrive

LD1405075389 Moscow TASS in English 0716 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Panama City May 14 TASS—Huge C-5 galaxy transportation planes of the U.S. Air Force land on the runway of the U.S. Howard military base, not far from the Panamanian capital, practically every hour, bringing military units, specially trained for combat operations in Latin America conditions, as well as combat equipment from the United States.

Mr Ferguson, a spokesman for the U.S. Air Force, told journalists that more than one thousand servicemen had already been brought to Panama within the framework of the Operation Nimrod Dancer being carried out on President Bush's order.

Besides, about 30 armoured cars as well as lorries and other hardware have also been delivered. The arriving units are moved without delay from Howard base to other U.S. military facilities on the territory of that country.

According to journalists, U.S. servicemen moving in mechanized convoys are in full combat readiness and many keep arms at the ready. The drivers' faces are covered with special camouflage paint.

The airlifting of an additional contingent of U.S. troops at an aggregate strength of 1,900 is expected to be completed tonight.

Before the beginning of the Operation Nimrod Dancer, which many here regard as the United States's overt preparation for a military interference in Panama, there were about 11,000 U.S. servicemen in the country.

U.S. 'Gendarme Measures' Criticized

PM1405135789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Gan: "Familiar Pretext"]

[Text] Washington, 12 May—It is perhaps precisely now that the Panamanian crisis has finally found its military or, more precisely, Pentagon dimensions, alongside the political ones. Addressing a White House news conference, Bush declared the adoption of what are essentially gendarme measures against this small Latin American country.

In the next few days a roughly 2,000-strong brigade of U.S. servicemen will be dispatched to Panama on White House orders. Equipped to wage combat operations and supplied with armored equipment, they will reinforce the 10,000-strong Pentagon contingent already stationed there. The new expeditionary corps is being urgently formed at three U.S. Armed Forces bases in California, Louisiana, and North Carolina. At the samme time a naval strike grouping headed by the aircraft carrier "America" has left the port of Norfolk, Virginia. Although its official destination is the Mediterranean, the Pentagon makes no secret of the fact that it could perfectly well receive the order to set course for the shores of Panama. The U.S. Defense Department has readied a Marine assault group in California.

In describing the hastily assembled interventionist forces U.S. specialists note their high level of mobility and armaments, which make the corps "ideally capable of rapid response."

The measures declared by the White House are being augmented by "punishment" of a different order. The President has ordered, in particular, the recall of the U.S. ambassador from Panama and the retention of previously introduced economic sanctions. However, it is the dispatch of troops which is undoubtedly the main step destabilizing the situation.

The wave of the anti-Panamanian campaign has also overwhelmed the U.S. Congress, whose leadership has supported Bush's actions. Moreover, some legislators have even voiced dissatisfaction with the "foot-dragging" and have called for an immediate and overt invasion by U.S. Armed Forces. As for the U.S. Administration, it prefers not to rush in with this truly extreme measure and is therefore dispatching troops only to Pentagon facilities in the Canal Zone for the time being. It is hinted, true, that Washington is ready in principle to embark on large-scale intervention, but considers it "better" to do this after it has obtained the blessing of at least some Latin American countries.

The "aces" of Washington diplomacy will continue to work on the Latin Americans at the Organization of American States next week. It is difficult to deny CBS is right when, after noting Bush's "foreign policy dilemma," it states: "The critically important question is whether the Latin American countries will succumb to arguments that the dispatch of 2,000 soldiers is something other than gunboat diplomacy." And indeed will they?

Mounting Anti-Americanism Noted

LD1405192789 Moscow TASS in English 1917 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] New York May 14 TASS—A report published in the Sunday issue of the paper NEWSDAY vividly attests to mounting anti-American feelings in Panama.

No state can approve of the U.S. military intervention in Panama, the paper's reporter was told by a respectable Panamanian economist who maintained relations both with top ranking officials in his country and with American engaged in political planning. It is characteristic, the newspaper said, that many officials in the U.S. Embassy in Panama speaking as private citizens voiced opposition to the U.S. military action against that country as it could do a lot of harm to the U.S. policy in the region.

According to the same economist, speaking on condition of anonymity, the U.S. economic sanctions will incur ever greater suffering for the people of Panama. As far as Noriega's supporters are concerned, the newspaper said, they are sure that the American economic sanctions against that country were introduced last year following Panama's refusal to render assistance to Nicaraguan contras on which Washington counted.

The genuine problem here lies with the United States, an independent researcher who declined to be identified, told the newspaper. That country had never given us a chance to develop normally, he said.

Political & Social

Gorbachev Stops Over in Irkutsk, Meets Workers

LD1405224389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 14 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We have just received a TASS announcement: Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, made a working stopover in Irkutsk today, on his way for an official visit to the PRC. He was met by Comrade Potapov, first secretary of the Irkutsk oblast party committee, and Comrade Nozhikov, chairman of the oblast executive committee, as well as by representatives of the public.

At the airport, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev had a warm conversation with working people.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] I am glad to see you. How are you? You, the veterans, know everything here? So tell us.

[Unidentified man] We, in our turn, are addressing three main areas: the question of the youth, care for our veterans and the older generation, and we are seriously engaged in [word indistinct].

[Gorbachev] This is good. All of them are good areas: vital ones, vital ones. Several years ago, we were very worried about how things were going in your oblast. That was back in 1982-83, or so. I was working then with the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat and used to hear reports. You had a comrade...

[1st man, interrupting] (Bannikov).

[2d man] Yes, I remember that.

[Gorbachev] We gave him a real roasting. Do you know what for, primarily? For such a freeloading attitude. This is a traditional... I remember, I have studied it. This region, what it represented from the point of view of agrarian possibilities. It always has been a huge agricultural region. There is a lot of land per capita. Then industrial development, and such mighty development! So much was being done here, yet the countryside decayed and decayed. People were leaving....

[1st man, interrupting] [Words indistinct]

[Gorbachev] How they left, comrades! I was not there, but I was told how, near Bratsk, one had to crawl underground. People were living in dugout housing. There were cattle without premises. Everything was neglected. He came here and demanded: Increase resources, increase resources! Where were these resources to come from? Resources do not grow on trees. How did this area, which in the past was so strong in agrarian possibilities, come to be in this situation? We (?put it) very strongly, very strongly.

[1st man] Now we have Vladimir Ivanovich. He is in charge of all the agriculture. It is better....

[Gorbachev] Was he working at that time, too, eh?

[1st man] [laughter] No! No! He was working in Kiev.

[Gorbachev] I asked that question on purpose because someone sent a telegram, saying: What is this? Listen, Gorbachev was there, too, during those years.

But we are all from those years, comrades. Comrades, this is where our problem, our difficulty lies because we are children of our time. However, this is also where our strength lies. We know everything that has built up, and everything there. We know, and so this knowledge has led to this, that things have to be changed, and they have to be changed sharply. They have to be changed in the interests of man.

[Raisa] Mikhail Sergeyevich, whoever was not around at that time can be only 3 years old. He can still take up a leading official position.

[Gorbachev, laughing] Yes! Yes!

[1st man] We have veterans from Afghanistan here.

[Gorbachev] Have you got young people with you here?

[Unidentifiable voices] Yes, we do.

[1st man] I am bringing up two children....

[Gorbachev] Well, I think we have resolved the Afghan question. This is not the time, here at the airport, to discuss it, but we have resolved it. That is the most important thing, we believe. What do you think? Did we resolve this matter correctly?

[1st man] It's great! [indistinct murmurings from crowd]

[Gorbachev] Of course, we have many friends there. Many people remained there who, as you can see, no sooner had we left... Now there are skirmishes, battles going on there. Pakistan is sending in men, forces of some kind are being formed there.

[2d unidentified man] In disguise.

[Gorbachev] Yes, in disguise, [words indistinct]. Now we no longer know everything that is happening there, but look. There are, of course, many people who support, who are supporters of Najibullah's peace and national reconciliation policy. There are many of them. There are whole regions and provinces where (?men) are in charge who formerly were in those resistance detachments, in the opposition. Now already they are managing provinces and are living in peace. These people, too, are tired, but it is to the advantage of some people, you know, that this country should be split. Some... [changes thought] What do you do?

[1st man] I work as a fitter in [words indistinct]. I am bringing up two children. We are resolving social issues.

[Gorbachev] How many Afghans [veterans of the Afghan war] are there in Irkutsk?

[1st man] 1,200.

[Gorbachev] 1,200?

[1st man] There are 1,200 men in Irkutsk oblast.

[Gorbachev] Do you have your own council?

[1st man] And we have a club, a city club and an oblast club.

[Gorbachev] And are they connected to the Komsomol and with older veterans?

[1st man] Yes, and they also are linked with the veterans.

[Gorbachev] It has to be said that more than 1 million men went through Afghanistan, comrades. More than 1 million. It is a good thing we resolved it. That is the way we must resolve one matter after another.

[1st unidentified woman] We are glad for our children, that (?they will not be faced with going to Afghanistan).

[2d unidentified woman] (?That this fate) should not befall them.

[Gorbachev] When they say, when they come up with slogans like: We will not go to serve in the Army, I think that is irresponsible. [crowd murmurs] And do you (?hold that opinion)?

[Women] No, of course not.

[Gorbachev] After all this, it is our country and we must protect it reliably.

[Woman] The defense of the motherland (?comes first)!

[Gorbachev] Yes, yes. It is another matter what the Army should be like. It should be the kind we need for peacetime: well-trained, well-armed, in the sense [word indistinct], but we must go along the path of disarmament, so that less expenditures go to that. At the moment, we are completing work on analyzing how much, in actual fact, is eaten up by military expenditures. I think we will tell everyone soon. We will disclose it soon because we have to investigate it all and tell all our people how it is.

[1st woman] And we believe in you, that everything will be fine.

[Gorbachev] You can be sure of that. We will never abandon this, not in any—we will not yield to any kind of pressure. No, our people need this, a peaceful life, a peaceful life. And all the rest we will resolve, we will resolve it.

Today we were flying in the aircraft, and Gosplan Chairman Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov reminded us all. We were speaking. The conversation was about China, about what is happening there, and we were comparing what is happening in our country, and he cited some interesting things. Yes, indeed, at the present time we are engaged so much in thorough criticism, analysis, democratic analysis of everying that has surfaced, and the fact that we, too, have committed blunders, and this has to be done, this has to be done. And the people said this at the elections. Yes, we are for restructuring. Yes, we support this policy, but it must be conducted more vigorously so that it yields more results. I think this formula is the most correct one, [words indistinct].

But I think, you know, that we have more possibilities, after all, and many regions have now launched their own local base, their own local building materials. They have begun building enterprises for their own plumbing fixtures because with a lot of them it has turned out that construction projects for housing have moved ahead, but it is difficult even to obtain plumbing fixtures. And so everything as a package. It is not only plumbing fixtures. It has turned out that the situation with furniture now has become more strained because as soon as housing began to increase, we all felt that this was lacking. And kindergartens are growing, that means furniture, too. Medical establishments have begun to grow, too. It is the same thing. So it is all integrated.

But the good point is that we have started to turn the economy in this direction: housing, medicine, schools, everything to do with education, kindergartens, and the light and food industries. For the first time, the light and food industries grew last year at a pace that was twice that of heavy industry. This was the first time in all the 70 years of Soviet power.

[Women] [Words indistinct].

[Gorbachev] You even feel something different. You even feel something different. I have tried to say this, but one cannot always do it. In any speech there probably is some sort of framework. One has to speak at length. One wants somehow to explain a bit.

[1st woman] [Words indistinct].

[Gorbachev] Yes and nevertheless, it should be as short as possible. The main thing is that we should work as much as possible, at the greatest length, I tell everyone. But what is the issue here? You understand, if you now really take the figures, with certain exceptions, that practically everything is connected: both industrial goods and foodstuffs. Practically, there is an erosion of cheap goods, but we have found the mechanisms for stimulating them. But all the same these goods are growing, but you do not feel it. People even say, correctly, that the deficit seems to have become more acute, as though things were in short supply.

[1st woman] The simplest goods.

[Gorbachev] Because, you know, the money market and the commodity market do not coincide.

[1st woman] [Words indistinct]

[Gorbachev] This is the main issue that we will discuss at the congress. We are preparing proposals, and the main one is to take, in the very near, the very near future—I do not even want to use the word years—after all, the financial situation has to be improved because industry now has begun to change for the better, from the point of view of renewing assets and taking up new types of output. They have started to save fuel and power. Their return on capital has improved. They have begun to save resources, otherwise all of this would cost billions. That's where the profits come from, and so on. The national income now, by and large, no longer comes from vodka and so on, and from expensive things or from the sale of oil on the foreign market. National income is growing, however, mainly due to material production.

[Unidentified man from off-screen] And because of reduced prime costs.

[Gorbachev] And becaue of reduced prime costs. So, in the economy, things have gotten moving. Productivity has doubled. In other words, our working class, peasants, and construction workers are doing all that. It would seem that you and I should have felt the effect, but we do not feel it. We do not feel it. Therefore, one shoud take the matter in hand more quickly.

Therefore, when they say the reform is not making progress yet, one has to take into account the following: There are people—and I regard them as hot-heads—who say: This can be solved quickly through the market, by way of the market; let the market establish a balance. But this means that everything that has one price today will have two, three, or four prices tomorrow. And everything will appear at once. And what then? Can one run production this way? We will stick to the approach we have promised, comrades. As to prices, all together, after we have gotten things moving a little, there will be no disorder with prices, here, either, but we will be searching for a way all together so as not to damage living standards.

[1st woman] What will happen to cooperatives in the future?

[2d woman] Mikhail Sergeyevich, how are things with the food program? Look, our vegetables and fruit are very expensive. There are practically no apples.

[1st woman] There is nothing in state trade sector!

[2d woman] It is impossible. Indeed, one cannot buy anything in Siberia.

[Gorbachev] I will tell you about prices for vegetables and fruit. Well, we alone (?were lagging behind) all countries, and our socialist countries, have transferred-...[changes thought] The problem with vegetables was acute everywhere, with nearly all our friends, so to speak, until...[changes thought] It is well-known that to grow vegetables is a troublesome business, so to speak. There are two ways to solve this. We have chosen the way of allocating land for gardens and orchards without restrictions. I do not know whether you have any obstacles or not.

[Voices] No, we do not.

[Gorbachev] Anyway, over the last 3 years, at least another 4 million gardens were distributed. Everybody, all states, had had this problem until they went over to contractual prices. How did the process develop? We studied Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and other countries, too. At first, prices soared because the output could not be increased at once, but then they returned to the initial level and dropped in all countries. Wherever you go now, they are on display on the streets. One should go along this way, but this does not exclude the fact that for Siberia residents—not everything can be grown here—measures should be thought out. That is what should be done!

[1st man] We have to work, and that is all there is to it!

[Gorbachev] One has to work.

[1st man] Now, indeed, we talk and talk, whereas we should work more. This way the matter will be rounded off, and everything will be all right. Of course, demands should be made stricter...

[1st woman, interrupting] First of all, there should be better management.

[1st man continues] ...and nothing more is needed, Mikhail Sergeyevich.

[Voices] No, no! Life in villages is very difficult.

[1st man] The way planning is being done in our country, especially by the use of gross output figures, we are losing items that are in demand, cheap items because now managers gain productivity precisely when they have these large gross figures and they do not want to produce cheap items. Therefore, planning should be changed.

[Gorbachev] Our Gosplan, together with the Academy of Sciences, is preparing proposals now. We must not go on counting in the way we have counted until now. It is all a result of this idea of gross figures. Incidentally, pay also was calculated from the gross, from the gross. Therefore, in order to get more pay, one had to make more, and more expensively, so that tractors and whatever else would be heavier and more expensive, so that construction would be more costly and more construction materials would be used, so that everything would be calculated on this basis. Now it is all these (?proposals) that we are going to introduce, introduce, introduce. And we must engage in leasing.

Now you know that things have gotten moving, gotten moving at industrial enterprises. The very same collective engages in leasing and straightaway.... Until then, before leasing was introduced, no one said anything or showed any particular proprietorial interest. As soon as they found themselves involved in leasing, they immediately demanded that such and such be done here, that this should be mechanized, that the managers and commanders who surround us at a ratio of one of them to every six of us, should be cut by three to four times, cut immediately. Do not place your hopes on the authorities alone. After all, we want you to understand the essense of our policy, where the essence lies, so that you will understand what the essence of it is. We want you to manage these enterprises yourselves.

Of course, the kind of norms should be set to insure that it is in your interest to manage and not the kind of norm that prevents you getting anywhere. I understand this. In general, this is probably the very time that we are beginning to get our brains stirring properly to decide how we are going to live, to work. We must not live or work as we used to, comrades. Nothing will grow. Nothing will grow, but I am glad to have seen you, at least to extend a small hand to the people of Irkutsk. We will get here. Somehow we will get out here to you, as well.

Good. Of course, if you, if you had not said anything and I had just looked at you, then everything would have seemed just fine. [laughter] That is how it used to be in the past, is that not right? There would be a meeting and everything seemingly would be fine. Now, it is obvious. I can see that you have something to say and there are things that can be talked about. And comrades, this is right. There are things and the main point is that we must hear each other, hear one another. Good. Tomorrow we are flying to the PRC and we will pass on greetings to them—yes, to our neighbors, your immediate neighbors. I think it is a good thing that relations with China are becoming good.

[3d unidentified woman] Yes, they are our closest, as they say...

[Gorbachev] The good thing is that although there have been years one does not want to talk about in detail—years that we regret that they happened although they did happen. They too are history that has taken place which you cannot cross out. However, the good thing in my view is that a feeling of respect nevertheless has been preserved, both in the Soviet Union, among our people, and also in China, among the Chinese people, together with a desire to live in a good-neighborly and good way. In my opinion, this is so. All of our people who go to China talk about this.

[3d woman] Yes, it has to be, it must be.

[Gorbachev] And the Chinese, when they come, do so for the same reason. You feel it, don't you?

[3d woman] Yes, they are very friendly, a very friendly people.

[Gorbachev] It was 30 years ago, 30 years ago, that a delegation at this level was in China—30 years.

[3d woman] We have a large Chinese population here in Irkutsk, very many Chinese.

[Gorbachev] We will talk, you will hear about it, I think everything will be all right.

[3d woman] We just wish you success.

[Gorbachev] I will convey your greetings. Thank you for wishing me success. I would very much like to stay awhile. I never have been on the Baykal. Well, thank you for the meeting and the conversation. All the same, I see from your eyes that even in these remote corners we will do it, we will do it. [laughter] We will do it. It cannot be otherwise. Are we not up to it? All the best, comrades!

[Voices] All the best! Do not forget us!

[Gorbachev] Good-bye. [end recording]

14 May Repeat Elections Process Reported, Examined

Elections Procedure Discussed

LD1005170889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 10 May 89

[Excerpts] Here is Gennadiy Vedenyapin:

[Vedenyapin] On Sunday 14 May, remember, repeat elections will be held in a number of constituencies where people's deputies were not selected on the main election day. I shall now discuss their preparations with my colleague Vladimir Korablev.

[Korablev] In the constituencies where repeat elections are to be held—there are 198 of them—preparations are virtually complete. The polling stations are completely prepared and invitations have been sent out to electors. And in the remaining days there are quite active meetings between the candidates for election and the voters.

[Vedenyapin] Well, many listeners would probably like to know about the current candidates and how many of them are taking part in the election campaign.

[Korablev] [passage omitted] Seventy-five percent of the candidates are Communists. As to their numbers, there are now three times more of them than on the main election day. This is convicingly illustrated by this figure: There are 2,216 candidates for 190 seats.

[Vedenyapin] That means that on average there are over six candidates per constituency. [as heard]

[Korablev] Yes, that's the average, but there are constituencies with 10 or more candidates. In the Central Electoral Commission I was told that after the registration of candidates was complete, there were constituencies with new records for numbers of candidates. In Kishinev, for instance, there's an okrug with 25 candidates, in Kiev one with 33, and in Leningrad the voting papers will bear the names of 34 candidates. [passage omitted] Experience of the general election on 26 March showed that repeat votes were held where several candidates stood for election; at present there are 127 of the 198 constituencies in that situation, so that repeat votes may very well also be needed in many of them. [passage omitted] There are 15 constituencies with a single candidate and 13 with two candidates.

[Vedenyapin] I suppose then, that in single-candidate constituencies there will be the former vote instead of elections.

[Korablev] There will not just be the former vote. In the first place, it's a sign of low electoral activity. Specialists think that where there are one or two candidates there may be repeat elections again. [passage omitted]

[Vedenyapin] A last question. Will the election procedure be in any way different from 26 March?

[Korablev] No, it will be the same as on the main election day. That is, on each voting slip only one candidate's name must be left. If two or three, say, are left on, then the slip will be classed as invalid.

[Vedenyapin] And if the voter strikes out all the candidates' names, for instance?

[Korablev] In that case the voter will be held to have voted not for but against every candidate listed on the slip, but the slip will be counted as valid. So those taking part in the repeat elections on 14 May should again be reminded that the name of only one candidate should be left on their voting slip.

TASS Previews Repeat Elections

LD1305081789 Moscow TASS in English 0649 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—The runoff elections of people's deputies of the USSR will be held on Sunday in the USSR's 198 territorial and national-territorial constituencies. There are 1,216 candidataes on the ballot paper, that is six contenders on an average for one mandate.

Under the law, the runoffs are held in 195 election districts where one or two candidates ran for deputy mandates on March 26, and none of them garnered the required majority of votes. Besides, in three districts in the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] the procedure is repeated since the elections there were announced invalid because less than a half of voters took part in them.

Elections will be held on Sunday in one more constituency where the elected deputy died soon after the March 26 elections.

There are 91 per cent of men, 85.4 per cent of communist party members, 20.5 per cent of workers and 4.9 per cent of peasants among the candidates. Although the election campaign has been going on for almost five months now, it has not lost its momentum. One candidate was registered only in 15 electoral districts and two candidates - in 13. Four and more candidates are on the ballot paper in the overwhelming majority of constituencies and more than 10 peopl run for deputy mandates in many of them.

The largest number of candidates was registered in Kiev's national-territorial constituencies—33 people, and in Leningrad—34.

Sunday's runoffs may not necessarily cap the election campaign. The experience of the March 26 poll shows that in districts where three and more candidates were registered, none succeeded in gaining more than half of the votes required for victory. In this case, the law envisages a repeat vote on two candidacies who received the largest number of votes. The repeat election is held not less than two weeks after the poll.

Commission Official Interviewed

LD1405195689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 14 May 89

[Interview with Dmitriy Bogdanovich Golovko, deputy chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, by unidentified correspondent; from the "Vremya" newscast; date and place not given]

[Excerpt] Repeat elections for USSR people's deputies are under way in 199 of the country's electoral constituencies today.

[Correspondent] In this hall, tonight and tomorrow, information coming in from every corner of the country on the completion of the elections will begin to be processed. I am speaking with Dmitriy Bogdanovich Golovko, deputy chairman of the Central Electoral Commission. Dmitriy Bogdanovich, in March a large number of candidates in the constituencies was seen almost as a sensation. Is the situation the same now, or is it slightly different?

[Golovko] The situation now is even more complex for the voter. If in March we had on average of two candidates to every seat around the country, now there is a national average of six.

[Correspondent] As you know, the brunt of the criticism from voters and from the contenders in March, in February and March, was directed against the pre-election constituency meetings. They were the subject of most complaints. There were cases of these constituency pre-election meetings being rejected. Has the number of rejections now risen?

[Golovko] It has risen, and sharply. I think that experience shows that the constituency electoral meeting remains a weak spot in our election campaign. The constituency electoral commissions have held meetings only in one case out of every four now.

[Correspondent] As usual, the Central Electoral Commission has of course been sorting out conflict situations. What were they connected with most often this time?

[Golovko] Most often they were connected with this: The constituency commissions, or meetings, refused to register those comrades who do not work or live in the given constituency, but the law does not prohibit such comrades from being registered.

[Correspondent] The law says, as a rule.

[Golovko] This is something we all have to learn. How one word in the law can play a colossal role. I am personally convinced that this factor needs to be corrected in the law. [passage omitted]

Dolganov Comments on Elections

PM1405171189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Article by Vyacheslav Dolganov under the "Current Affairs Commentator's Remarks" rubric "Choice for Change"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] "Petitioners" complaining about the behind-the-scenes activity of the executive committee apparatus attempting to ensure favorable conditions for "its" candidates in the repeat elections have written to the editorial office from Pskov, Penza, Ryazan, Ust-Kamenogorsk, and a number of other cities. And the candidates themselves sometimes breach ethical norms and the rules of political campaigning, collecting and publishing compromising material on their rivals.

Certain candidates now aspiring to win a seat try to attribute their previous defeat to inadequate political sophistication on the part of people and their lack of skill in exercising democracy and ascribe their own personal lack of success and low prestige among the electorate to "the party's loss of it's vanguard role." Although the results of the 26 March election and 9 April runoffs show that more Communists have now been elected to the country's supreme organs of power than in the days when the candidates' names were handed down from a schedule. It should be noted that a fair amount of disinformation is being spread in the pamphlets and posters which action groups are using to canvass for their candidates.

It is surprising and insulting to read in an anonymous pamphlet that a senior official now holding down a pretty important post who has all the opportunity and power to improve working people's lives will be able, it transpires, to ensure for the inhabitants individual comfortable apartments, "spotlessly maintained streets and sidewalks," and the "ability to buy products without lines or strained nerves" only if elected a USSR people's deputy. And this despite the fact that what is promised to people tomorrow was a part of a candidate's actual official duties both before and now. These examples are not isolated. The competition according to the principle "who can make the biggest promise" continues, alas. Moreover, it has even been augmented at the present stage of the election campaign by the yen on the part of some candidates for unparalleled bombast and equally irresponsible political language. However, I do not think that the voter will let himself be hoodwinked as he takes his ballot paper into the booth to vote in secret.

A choice on behalf of changes in our society which are to become irreversible... It faces not only the voters in the 198 okrugs but above all the deputies already elected and those whom the people will elect 14 May to the upcoming Congress of USSR People's Deputies. Its agenda, excluding those items which have already been stipulated by the USSR Constitution, is unknown as yet. But is that so little? The election of the USSR Supreme

Soviet and its chairman and first deputy chairman and the confirmation of the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, the chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, and the country's general prosecutor and chief state arbiter. And finally, the election of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee.

How are all these procedures to be carried out with strict observance of democratic norms and account taken of the opinion of the whole people? How and according to what principle are the new Supreme Soviet commissions to be formed? What should form part of the common platform of the upcoming course of the country's supreme organ? These and many, many other questions are to be resolved by the deputies themselves at the congress. It is important only that the congress, as many of them have noted, be efficient and not turn into an arena for long, fruitless discussion, and that every day and hour of its work promote the search for mutually acceptable solutions.

Democratization, glasnost, and the other gains of restructuring are being won by us in this keen struggle with too much difficulty and pain for us to retreat even one step. And that is why, as we make our way to the voting booths or amplify our instructions to our deputies, we expect from our elected representatives political maturity, civic courage, and principle. Only then will our choice bring positive changes.

And we await them, so much do we await them. All of us together. Everyone of us.

Campaign 'Excesses' Criticized

PM1405165589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Article by G. Ovcharenko: "Toward the Congress of USSR People's Deputies: Repeat Elections"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Readers in their letters to the editorial office refer to the repeat elections as the third round. And it is no wonder, since many people had thought that the heat of the election struggle would markedly die away after the 26 March elections and subsequent runoffs.

Those misgivings have not been borne out. What's more, in a number of okrugs the third-round campaign has been waged more intensively than in the two preceding rounds. Unfortunately, we have again failed to avoid conflict situations. Passions have gotten particularly heated in Leningrad, Ryazan, Moscow, and certain other cities. Disputes with local authorities and okrug electoral commissions which have allegedly and not allegedly hindered the democratic election procedures have sometimes ended in excesses that have no place in a truly democratic, rule-of-law state. There have been cases of members of action groups being detained, and there have been protest hunger strikes and attempted strikes. In short, social activeness has sometimes gone beyond the bounds of pluralism, resulting, alas, in basic violations of public order and the law.

There have not been so many such cases in the repeat election campaign. But one must not, nevertheless, hush them up. Yes, we are still learning and will continue to learn democracy. But this study must not be allowed to proceed in extreme situations. Each such case therefore should be the object of serious analysis and discussion. Incidentally, the first attempt at such analysis has already been made; it was carried out at a recent session of the Central Electoral Commission where its chairman, V. Orlov, reported the results of the registration of candidates for the repeat elections.

As it turned out, the majority of conflicts have primarily been due to the refusal to register—for various reasons—new candidates, particularly those who do not live or work in the okrug whose voters submitted the new nomination. The imprecision of the wording of the Law on Elections, where the proviso "as a rule" allowed electoral commissions to take completely contrary decisions on the same question, had the primary impact here. I think that in the near future, and with the aid of the new people's deputies, these provisos will be removed from the law. But for the time being the law stands, and it must be observed.

The third-round election campaign has on the whole been marked by good organization, a high level of activeness by voters, and a more realistic and clear program on the part of candidate deputies. The following question put by many readers is not without interest either: What kind of candidates is the electorate to cast its vote for today? The Central Electoral Commission told the editorial office that they are a little different from those already elected 26 March. Thus, out of the 1,216 contenders for the 198 deputies' seats, 85.4 percent are Communists, 25.4 percent workers and collective farm members, and 9 percent women.

There are other interesting facts. On average each okrug where repeat elections are being held today has six candidates per seat—double what it was on the day of the main elections. Hence the easy prediction that many okrugs, particularly those where there are 20 or more candidates, will have to have a runoff. And they represent 127 of the 198 okrugs.

But there are also okrugs, 15 of them, where there is only 1 contender; and 13 okrugs with 2. Let us note that such a minimum number of candidates—one or two—may, as the 26 March elections showed, lead to repeat elections.

But let us leave the forecasts. The voters are right now deciding whether they will be realized. The main thing is to elect worthy deputies who are capable of representing and defending people's interests.

Leaflets Attack Worker Candidates

PM1105095589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[M. Monusov article: "Leaflet Attacks on Worker Candidate. Anonymous Argument"]

[Text] More than 100 candidates for USSR people's deputy will fight for the remaining 6 seats for the Leningrad and oblast electoral okrugs where repeat elections will take place 14 May. No one dares to forecast the outcome of the struggle in this situation. And attempts "to direct" the campaign are again being made by those who have already sown much discord in it by spreading false information about the candidates and insulting their honor and dignity.

At Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committee [gorispolkom] TASS' correspondent was shown a thick bundle of leaflets and letters with which the city had been inundated quite recently. Handwritten, typewritten, or duplicated, they are similar to each other in their bias and their deliberately false information about the candidate.

On Vasilyevskiy Island, for example, was the following graphic call: "Comrade Voters! Don't vote for Nikoforov. He has been nominated by the apparatus." Yu. Nikiforov, a fitter at the Baltic plant, was nominated candidate of the shipbuilders' collective, and he succeeded at the first stage in withstanding quite intense competition precisely from those who were supported by the plant's party committee and management. But he came third in the results of the 26 March vote—and, probably, not without the "assistance" of rumors which were spread about him.

With a thick felt-tip pen the spiteful critics crossed out the leaflet about candidate deputy S. Ivanov, a fitter at the "Svetlana" association and hero of socialist labor, writing alongside: "Ivanov is a party functionary, he has been full-time shop party organizer for 15 years." Sergey Aleksandrovich was indeed repeatedly elected leader of the shop party organization, but he never gave up his production duties.

V. Smirnov, radio equipment regulator at the Leningrad Optical Instruments Association Named for V.I. Lenin, who was elected at the end of last year to the oblast party committee bureau, has been anonymously classified as a "nomenklatura official." Libels posted up in metro stations are daubed with insults aimed at him.

It is clear that the main aim of the "well-wishers" is to discredit the candidates. Workers were presented as "apparatchiks"—this could work against the background of the general struggle against bureaucracy. And it did work. The Leningrad proletariat was hardly represented in the new supreme organ of state power. Special tactics were used against leaders. Many fables, for example, were spread around the city about A. Bolshakov, deputy chairman of Leningrad Gorispolkom, who had been working for less than a year in his new post and for a long time was head of a major production association. Consequently on the day of the elections he was only 2 percent short of the required votes.

"We had a situation where a candidate people's deputy refused to take part in the election campaign because of improper behavior by the rival 'team,'" V. Rozov, chief of a Leningrad Gorispolkom department, said. "And this was the precise aim of those who do not balk at composing defamatory libels against people. Article 13 of the Law on Elections of USSR People's Deputies specifies that proceedings will be instituted against persons who spread false information about a candidate deputy. But this provision is still not working. The aggrieved party can, of course, go to court when there is someone against whom he can bring an action, but, as a rule, all the fabrications are anonymous."

Recently notices appeared in downtown Pushkin which invited voters to the "Ruslan" movie theater to meet V. Khodyrev, chairman of Leningrad Gorispolkom. As we know, on 26 March he also failed to get the requisite number of votes. And although he was once again nominated by several labor collectives in Kolpinskiy Rayon, he refused to run again. Who needed the provocation (the electoral commission of Kolpinskiy No 52 Territorial Electoral Okrug regarded the notice precisely as such) of inviting people to meet V. Khodyrev? But the duped inhabitants turned up at the movie theater at the appointed time.

For the new candidate USSR people's deputies for the six Leningrad and oblast okrugs the electoral campaign is reaching the decisive stage. Clearly, the electoral commissions should vigorously oppose those who love to resort to the libel genre and refute the rumors and defamatory information about the candidates which are being spread in the local mass media. The present campaign is a school of democracy without precedent, the lessons of which we still have to learn.... [In the version of this report front-paged by Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 May 1989 First Edition the preceding sentence reads as follows: The present campaign is an unprecedented school for mastering the culture of democracy, the lessons of which are invaluable for the forthcoming multiple-candidacy elections to the local soviets]

Elections End in 198 Constituencies

LD1505015389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0001 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] At precisely 2000 Moscow time on 14 May, voting ended in the constituencies where it had been extended by 2 hours because of summer time. As is known, repeat elections [povtornoye vybory] were held in 198 constituencies. They will be acknowledged as valid where more than half of the electorate took part. In connection with the fact that in 127 constituencies there were between 4 and over 30 candidates on the ballot, run-off elections are possible in individual constituencies. They will be held on 21 may.

The Central Electoral Commission intends to announce the results of the repeat elections on 19 May at its regular session.

Public Polled on Elections Process, Other Issues

18000890 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
23 Apr 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by N. Popov, doctor of historical sciences, All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion under the AUCCTU and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems: "Public Opinion and the Elections"]

[Text] The results have been summed up and the analysis has been completed from the questionnaire of public opinion that was conducted by the VTsIOM [All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion] at the height of the election campaign for electing USSR people's deputies. The task of the investigation was to clarify how informed the population is concerning the new laws, elections and changes in the Constitution, and the aspects of the reform of the political system that are related to it.

The questionnaire included mainly the country's urban population—residents of Moscow, Novosibirsk, Vilnius, Petrozavodsk, and other cities in various regions of the country (the European part of the RSFSR, Siberia, the Urals, Kazakhstan). Representatives of the main sociodemographic segments of the population were questioned.

It revealed the degree to which the people are informed about the drafts of laws on elections and changes in the Constitution, the dependency between people's activity and their education, social position, party membership, job, and so forth, for people living in small and large cities.

The election campaign affected and interested a large number of people. More than 80 percent of them stated that they were familiar (at least partially) with the new policy for nominating candidates for USSR people's deputies.

But the level of people's presence at meetings for nominating candidates for people's deputies, their participation in the discussion of candidacies, and their level of information about the qualities and platforms of future deputies were quite varied. Three weeks before the election more than half of the voters still did not know who had been nominated as candidates for people's deputies from their electoral districts. The pitch of the campaign became considerably more heated on the very eve of the elections and the voters undoubtedly became more informed. Nonetheless not everyone knew for whom they would vote even when they arrived at the polling place.

And now let us single out a couple of issues quite concretely.

The responses to the question of what guided the people when voting "for" or "against" candidates showed: 40 percent make their decision on the basis of the speeches in which the candidates present their platforms at the pre-election meetings or the speeches of the candidates' agents. Fifty-four percent of the voters based their choice on the candidate's previous authority or the opinion of the majority of the participants in the meeting for nomination of candidates.

The questionnaire revealed the population's opinion regarding the effectiveness of elections conducted in the new way as a democratic mechanism. A positive response was given by 48 percent, a negative one by 12 percent, and almost 40 percent of the people found it difficult to give a definite answer to the question: "Will the new policy for nominating candidates for people's deputies make it possible to select the most worthy, knowledgeable, and active people, who are capable of solving the problems of their constituencies?" This wait-and-see reaction apparently reflects not only their satisfaction with the procedure for selecting candidates but also their desire to see people at work—to see how active the person who has been elected to the highest agency of state authority will be in solving problems that bother the population.

The evaluations of the effectiveness of various forms of democracy were revealed through the suggestion to name the forms of participation of the people in social life that can have the strongest influence on the decisions of state authorities.

The question was formulated as follows: "A good deal is now being said about democratization and the development of the will of the people. What do you think are the forms of participation of the people in social life that can have the strongest influence on the decisions made by agencies of state authority?" (The respondents could give several positions at the same time and therefore the sum of answers was more than 100).

Here is the picture that obtained:

	Moscow	Other cities	The country as a whole
Statements in the press, on television and radio	55	46	49
Participation in mass questionnaires of public opinion	42	36	38
Election work in party, komsomol, and trade union organizations	17	13	15
Participation in pre-election campaigns and elections of people's deputies	19	11	14
Participation in new informal groups and associations	10	5	7
Participation in mass meetings and demonstrations	17	11	13
Other forms	4	1	2
It is difficult to answer	14	15	15

The questionnaire convinces us that the majority of the population still considers the elections to be the most effective form of influencing state policy.

Some of the questions that were asked pertained to the general course of restructuring and those zones where it is being carried out most noticeably. To the question of which of the changes taking place in the country they regard as manifestations of restructuring, 60 percent named glasnost and the correctness of information in the press, radio, and television; 54 percent—the changeover of enterprises to self-financing and the appearance of new forms of management (leasing, cooperatives, and so forth); 46 percent—changes in the structure of higher agencies of state power and elections of people's deputies from a choice of several candidates; and 33 percent—reduction of the management apparatus.

As we can see, glasnost continues to lead. It is in first place among the party and nonparty members, among people with high and low incomes, among the intelligentsia and the workers—in a word, in all cases. At the same time—and this was not the case before—the changes in economic relations are beginning to be "hot on the heals" of glasnost—the difference in the frequency of these responses is not great. Less frequently (in less than half the cases) they name changes in political relations.

This is the way the peculiarity of the current stage of democratization, when it is too early for the results of the elections to be reflected in changes in life, is reflected in the mass awareness, and the press is seen as a rapid and effective instrument of democracy.

Another issue that was clarified by the questionnaire: What do the population see as the reasons for the economic difficulties that are being experienced by the country? In spite of the widespread opinion that many people are beginning to blame restructuring for the difficulties, the real picture as revealed by the questionnaire of public opinion is different. Only 4 percent think that "restructuring is to blame for the economic difficulties." And the majority (57 percent) see the reason for the economic difficulties in the "mistakes of the past," while 18 percent generally assume that "the difficulties are an inevitable consequence of the economic system of socialism."

On the whole the questionnaire showed that questions of political life and democratization attract the attention of broad segments of the population who do not restrict their interests merely to current economic problems. Democratic elections are regarded as an instrument for movement toward the sovereignty of the people. But the population still does not value highly enough their significance today as a real lever for their own influence on the policy and the solution to the problems of the society.

Composition of Congress of Deputies Examined

PM0905133189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 May 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Candidate of Economic Sciences A. Nazimova and Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Sheynis article: "Choice Has Been Made"]

[Text] Until quite recently our country proclaimed that the system of soviets, as laid down by the 1936 constitution and amended by the 1977 constitution, constitutes the highest form of parliamentarianism. Let us be fair: Both documents enshrined quite a few sound tenets reproducing to a certain extent world experience in the development of democratic political structures. But in real public life the soviets started off as, and remained, primarily a decorative structure.

The Supreme Soviet could unanimously approve decisions submitted to it (and it repeatedly did so, even in cases when a sharp political turnabout was being effected and subsequent resolutions were at odds with previous ones). It could ratify all appointments and transfers of top state officials without venturing to be tactless enough to inquire the real reasons behind them. It could stand up and applaud, demonstrating to the country and the world the cohesion of the people's elected representatives around leaders whose promotion and replacement were far beyond the limits of its powers. It even could—mainly through deputies' commissions—perform useful auxiliary work in "putting the finishing touches" to draft laws and in relaying the most urgent local demands to government institutions. A list of what it **could not do** would take up too much space, so let us say just this: It was not **a working parliament** exercising supreme state power in the country. The situation whereby several deputies raised their hands "against" in the fall of 1988, something natural in a conventional parliament, was perceived as an extraordinary occurrence.

The Supreme Soviet was built into a social system in which its diminished role was predetermined not so much by legislation as by party-state practice and by society's general standards of political culture. It was to fit this role that deputies were selected and appointed by an omnipotent apparatus which legitimized its decisions via a carefully worked out pseudoelectoral procedure. The way this was done and the ensuing structure of the Supreme Soviet were well described by Yu. Burtin a year ago (IZVESTIYA No 120, 1988). His analysis of the composition of the Supreme Soviet elected on the eve of restructuring showed that the supreme organ of state power comprised two unequal parts. About 40 percent of its members were persons who combined participation in the Supreme Soviet with membership of the party Central Committee or its Central Auditing Commission.

The other half was formed on the basis of "quotas" keeping the sexual, age, social, professional, and party composition and so on of the entire Supreme Soviet within the proportions which the architects of its latest convocation deemed most suitable and which more or less corresponded (although they did not coincide, of course) with the composition of the country's active population.

It can be further added that both sections of the soviet contained people who sharply differed in their civic and personal qualities: Perspicacious and limited, unselfish and corrupt, Stalinists who more or less obviously advertised their sympathies and anti-Stalinists who deemed it imprudent to demonstrate their genuine beliefs; those who were concerned only with the bosses' favors and those who perceived the meaning of their status as deputies as being to help their cause and their voters as much as they could. But under the prevailing system of deputies' selection, all these obvious merits and concealed vices had hardly anything to do with their nomination. Voters were unable to influence their representative's behavior, just as deputies were unable to influence a minister's actions.

The recent elections were the main political event of restructuring and maybe even of a longer historical period. The ups and downs of the election campaign, the headlong unfolding of social initiative and the attempts to speculate on it, the frenzied counterattacks by conservative-retrograde forces, and the offensive by populist extremism—all these processes were covered by the press at sufficient length. So it is all the more acutely necessary to perceive the meaning of the changes which have taken place.

Two diametrically opposed views on the election results have emerged now.

First: The elections did not offer full freedom of choice—filtering devices operated rigidly and impeccably in a number of places; there were legal, semilegal, and totally illegal amendments to electoral procedures favoring "suitable" candidates and detrimental to "unsuitable" ones; and the electoral law itself is far from perfect since it preserves the opportunity to regulate the election process at all its stages, some people say.

Second: "The period of political coziness is over," the election results are "terrible," a threat has emerged that "different people will arrive, and it cannot be ruled out that they will be poorly versed in the Marxist-Leninist ideals"—that is how the essence of the event was appraised by some participants in the joint plenum of the Leningrad city party committee [gorkom] and oblast party committee [obkom], held hot on the heels of events.

To what extent do the actual election results justify each of these views? Who was elected to the Congress of People's Deputies, given that the quota principles, if they had not ceased to exist entirely, were substantially weakened? This can be judged to a certain extent by comparing the structural parameters of the Congress of People's Deputies and the previous Supreme Soviet, which we have done in the following table, slightly rearranging Yu. Burtin's data referring to 1984 and calculating the numerical strength of the most important social and professional groups among the 2,044 deputies elected in March-April 1989.

[The figures 1, 2, and 3 appearing within parentheses in the table refer to the following footnotes: Footnote 1: "Figures for 1984 are based on Yu. Burtin's calculations (IZVESTIYA 28 April 1989); those for 1989 are based on our own calculations covering the 2,044 deputies elected by the end of April 1989"; Footnote 2: "Incomplete data"; Footnote 3: "Data not fully comparable since Yu. Burtin included school directors among teachers, while physicians evidently include leaders of smaller medical institutions. An appropriate recalculation reduces the numerical strength of the lower echelons of power in 1989 by 92 (4.5 percent), increasing the number of teachers to 70 (3.4 percent) and of physicians to 67 (3.3 percent)"]

SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL COMPOSITION OF USSR SUPREME SOVIET (1984) AND CONGRESS OF PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES (1989) (1)

	Number of Deputies		Percentage	
	1984	1989	1984	1989
1. Top political leadership	**23**	**15**	**1.5**	**0.7**
2. Top and middle management echelon	**599**	**813**	**40.0**	**39.8**
including:				
First and second secretaries of union republic Communist Party central committees and first secretaries of obkoms, kray committees, and gorkoms in major cities	181	155	12.1	7.6
Senior CPSU Central Committee officials	19	14	1.3	0.7
Leaders of USSR and union republic supreme soviets	26	14	1.7	0.7
USSR ministers and deputy ministers	90	1	6.0	
Union republic ministers and deputy ministers	27	56	1.8	2.7
Deputy defense ministers and other top military leaders	53	63	3.5	3.1
KGB leaders	16	10	1.1	0.5
Top trade union leaders	15	17	1.0	0.8
Leaders of academies of sciences	18 (2)	37	1.1 (2)	1.8
Leaders of scientific institutions and higher education establishments		83		4.1
3. Lower management echelon	**99**	**504 (3)**	**6.6**	**24.7 (3)**
including:				
Kolkhoz chairmen and chief specialists	56	95	3.7	4.6
Sovkhoz directors, deputy directors, and chief specialists	9	19	0.6	0.9
Total (1+2+3)	**721**	**1,332**	**48.1**	**65.2**
4. Nonspecialist workers, kolkhoz members, and employees	**688**	**473**	**49.5**	**23.1**
of whom:				
Industrial workers	364	288	24.3	14.1
Sovkhoz workers	150	77	10.0	3.8
Kolkhoz members	159	100	10.6	4.9
Employees	15	8	1.0	0.3
5. Highly skilled mental labor workers	**90**	**197**	**6.0**	**9.7**
including:				
Engineers	5	30	0.3	1.5
Physicians	15	8 (3)	1.0	1.8 (3)
Teachers	15	37 (3)	1.0	0.4 (3)
Scientific and creative intelligentsia	27	122	1.8	6.0
[of whom:]				
Scientific workers		61		3.0
Creative intelligentsia		31		1.5
Journalists		28		1.4
Lawyers		2		0.1
6. Clergymen		**5**		0.2
7. Pensioners		**37**		1.8
TOTAL	**1,499**	**2,044**	**100.0**	**100.0**

We would like in advance to make the proviso that these are our own calculations based on the lists of people's deputies published in the press. We realize that the social composition of the supreme organ of power could also be calculated along different lines. Moreover, it is necessary to bear in mind that further elections are due to be held 14 May and that 9 percent of deputies' seats are yet to be filled. Nonetheless, we believe that the overall picture is hardly likely to undergo any substantial changes.

Even a fleeting glance at the table draws attention to the fact that **the representation of the top and middle echelons** of management increased substantially in absolute terms at the recent elections, though their total proportion remains at the same level, 40 percent, as 5 years ago.

There is, however, a colossal shift behind this equation. In the past, after all, membership of the top echelon was per se a guarantee of a deputy's seat. The full composition of the Supreme Soviet included the main local party leaders, department leaders from the party Central Committee apparatus, virtually all union ministers, the heads of union republic governments, and so on. Top echelon representatives accounted for **almost the entire** 40 percent of seats in the 1984 Supreme Soviet. They accounted for at least three-fourths (and maybe even more) of the 599 deputies, data for whom we have borrowed from Yu. Burtin and whom we have designated as representatives of the top and middle echelons of management.

During the 1989 elections persons holding top positions in certain categories enjoyed, as a rule, most favored treatment from electoral commissions and local authorities, but their nomination and election were in no way guaranteed. Furthermore, the exclusion of ministers from the legislative body exerted a considerable influence. Consequently the proportion of **the actual top echelon of management** in the Congress of People's Deputies was reduced to 16 percent, the absolute numbers falling to 337.

Much attention was attracted by the electoral defeat of several dozen local party and soviet leaders. Nevertheless, their total representation in the Congress, compared with the 1984 Supreme Soviet, was reduced only insignificantly and they comprise one of the largest groups.

Different countries' legislation offers different solutions to the question of the permissibility of reserving deputies' mandates for ministers. Under our conditions, when the question of separating legislative and executive power has been raised with exceptional urgency, the exclusion of ministers from the organ of power which ideally should effectively monitor the government is certainly a step forward. True, this move has not been taken to its logical conclusion: The electoral law enabled not only the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers but also the heads of republic governments, who are ex officio members of the union government, to remain members of the supreme state organ. Thus 13 chairmen of republic Councils of Ministers have become deputies (except those of Lithuania and Latvia); they will be joined in the Congress by a further 40 ministers from the republics. Even so, however, the majority of ministers have been kept out of the organ which ought to monitor their activity.

Traditionally both the Army and the KGB have long been substantially represented on the Central Committee and the Supreme Soviet. The number of top and middle rank military leaders in the Congress of People's Deputies is somewhat greater than in the previous Supreme Soviet, even though some of the most eminent representatives of the corps of generals failed to gain the voters' support. As for the KGB, there is not a single central apparatus official representing it in the supreme organ of power, in contrast with the previous one. Nine republic leaders of this department have become deputies.

The middle and lower echelons of management will be represented in the Congress of People's Deputies **on a much larger scale than before** (and in approximately equal proportions, each constituting some 23-25 percent of the total Congress). The middle echelon comprises primarily enterprise directors (there are 139 of them, at least 38 of whom head major plants and firms), leaders of scientific institutions and higher education establishments, and some party, soviet, judicial, military, and other officials.

Henceforth a major role in our supreme state organ—in line with their enhanced social role—will be played by groups which are usually styled technocratic in the West, which will bring here their useful social experience.

Judging by material published in our press, it could be said that the party and state apparatus made considerable efforts to ensure electoral victory for some of them. But this group also contained quite a few people who declared themselves firm supporters of the deepening and strengthening of the democratic orientation of restructuring and enjoyed impressive support "from below."

The nomination and election of members of the "junior command team"—chiefs of enterprise shops and departments, chiefs of laboratories and university departments, kolkhoz chairmen, sovkhoz directors, and so on—were even less preordained. These groups (perhaps with the exception of kolkhoz leaders) were represented only symbolically in former Supreme Soviets, by a few carefully selected "spokesmen" in every case. Their share now accounts for almost one-fourth of congress deputies. In terms of political orientation, the lower echelon of the management pyramid is evidently equally as diverse as the middle echelon.

Worker and peasant deputies to the congress are slightly fewer than in the 1984 Supreme Soviet. "The workers have now realized that they have been deceived," a rayon committee secretary declared at a session of the Odessa party obkom bureau (SOVETSKAYA KULTURA 18 April 1989), and he is by no means alone in attempting to exacerbate the ordinary working people's feeling of social frustration and to direct it against the intelligentsia, which has supposedly taken advantage of the "free play of forces" to promote its own interests. By no means everyone spots the overtones of nostalgia for the "elections without choice" of old in such claims, and a frank and honest conversation on the painful question has yet to take place. Meanwhile, the demagoguery of bureaucrats and conservatives, of "fighters against petty bourgeois attitudes," must be countered by a clear-cut stance displaying not even a shadow of malicious glee, elitist conceit, and infantile "populist" talk.

The 1984 Supreme Soviet, just like supreme soviets of previous convocations, was thoroughly polarized: The bias in favor of blanket representation of the top leadership was compensated by an equally sharp bias "favoring" (purely nominally, of course) ordinary workers and peasants. The 1989 electoral process changed this configuration both "from the top" and "from the bottom." The number of deputies among top leaders was cut back, as we have seen, in favor of the middle management echelon.

The seats held by workers and peasants, accounting for almost one-half of the Supreme Soviet in the past, have also been redistributed. In this process fewer seats have gone to ordinary members of the intelligentsia not holding administrative positions, and more have gone to the lower management echelon: from kolkhoz members to kolkhoz chairmen, from industrial workers to chiefs of shops and departments. But though reduced in numbers, the groups of worker and peasant deputies will still be among the largest in the Congress.

We would hardly be wrong to say that, in terms of its composition, the Congress of People's Deputies is the most intellectual legislative assembly in our post-October history. Of course, intellectualism is not the privilege only of those employed in skilled mental labor. Presumably, if and when restructuring goes deeper, events will bring to the fore genuine leaders from among the workers and peasants. It is possible that such people have already been elected to the Congress and will soon have their say.

The advancement of specialists, and especially members of the scientific and creative intelligentsia, is among the most remarkable phenomena thrown up by the recent elections. The summary indicators covering representation of this entire social and professional group are of considerable interest. A total of 341 scientists and creative workers have been elected to the Congress, representing 16.7 percent. Let us note that the voters' shift in their favor was extremely clearly demonstrated during the runoffs and the elections of additional deputies held 2 and 9 April 1989. Out of the 76 deputies elected from territorial and national-territorial electoral okrugs, 35 are representatives of highly skilled mental labor and a further 24 are scientific and creative workers.

The composition of the Congress also includes groups of deputies who have not been represented in a single one of the Supreme Soviet's previous convocations: Clergymen, rural leaseholders (13 people), leaders of lease collectives and cooperatives (6), and pensioners. The new supreme organ will certainly reflect society's social pluralism to an incalculably greater extent than all the previous ones.

This is what the harbinger of the Soviet parliament which we elected in the spring of 1989 looks like. Will it be able to mark the beginning of a new epoch in our country's political history? It is not easy to answer this question, since it is not enough to just know the social and professional composition of the Congress; it is important to see how it behaves in practice.

But the role which the Congress is due to play does not depend on it alone. Transition to a genuinely democratic, rule-of-law state presupposes a substantial change in the entire structure of power. And this inevitably raises the question of the correlation between different state and party institutions.

The fact that some well-known party figures were not elected to the Congress, nor were people in whose favor the apparatus campaigned with all its strength and using all its means (at times achieving the precise opposite effect, as happened for example in the Moscow No 1 National-Territorial Electoral Okrug, with repercussions felt in many other okrugs), was appraised by some circles as a "defeat for the party."

It is indicative, however, that there was a sharp increase in representation of party members in the supreme organ of state power. In 1984, when quotas held sway, full and candidate members of the party accounted for 71.4 percent of deputies. Today their share among nominated deputies increased to 85.3 percent, and even to 87.6 percent of elected deputies. Therefore any talk of defeat for the party is possible only if the party is taken to mean only its apparatus.

While the party as a whole is represented more substantially than ever before on the supreme organ of state power, gone are the times when its leading institutions were virtually completely merged within it. Only 93 of the 301 full members of the Central Committee (31 percent), 41 of its 157 candidate members (26 percent) and 22 members of the Central Auditing Commission (27 percent) were elected to the Congress of People's Deputies in March-April 1989. The Central Committee April Plenum, which accepted the resignation of pensioners, somewhat altered these proportions (raising the proportion of Central Committee members to 42 percent).

The Congress has received a convincing mandate from the people and is now the most representative political institution maybe in the country's entire history. It faces complex tasks.

First of all, it must become aware of its role in society's political structure as a really supreme and sovereign organ of state power which is not and cannot be subordinate to any "higher authority." It must resolutely oppose any attempts to diminish its role to that of an assembly which only approves decisions drafted by someone else—and it can hardly be doubted that such attempts will be made.

One of the first and obviously hardest tasks of the Congress is to form the Supreme Soviet: It is important to ensure that the forces upholding a regime of economic and political democracy are represented in the Supreme Soviet in proportions at least no smaller than in the Congress.

It is incumbent upon the Supreme Soviet, in turn, to painstakingly monitor appointments to all senior offices of state and establish its own direct monitoring, via the Supreme Soviet and deputies' commissions, of the Army and of all law enforcement organs.

History does—and yet does not—repeat itself. Not to let the people be driven out of the political arena which the great masses entered during the elections; to protect the press, which has marched in the vanguard of restructuring and made a colossal contribution to the political enlightenment of millions of people; to support and consolidate the democratically created social organizations—that emerging infrastructure of civil society, the basis of a rule-of-law state; to complete the creation of a system of soviets exercising complete power throughout the country and not to permit under any circumstances a postponement of the scheduled elections for republic and local soviets—these seem to be the most important tasks of the Congress of People's Deputies and of the Supreme Soviet to be elected by it. They are also the paramount tasks of the party itself if it does not wish to lag behind the processes of social renewal or to allow these processes to bypass it.

The choice has been made. The choice continues.

Central Committee Politburo Session Reported

LD1305181389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] We have just received a report titled In the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee.

At the latest session of the Central Committee Politburo a memorandum submitted by the CPSU Central Committee Commission of Socioeconomic Policies on investment policy problems was examined. In the course of the discussion sharp criticism was levelled at the shortcomings in capital construction—something that is affecting the overall economic results of the development of the national economy and that is affecting how a number of social tasks are tackled. After endorsing the conclusions of the Central Committee Commission, the Politburo recommended that the USSR Council of Ministers should take account of them when drawing up the government's draft decision on raising the effectiveness of capital investment and on radically restructuring the economic machinery in the sphere of investment.

Some matters dealing with implementing judical reform that had been put forward by the CPSU Central Committee Commission on Legal Policy were discussed. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo endorsed the proposals for further steps to carry through restructuring of the judicial bodies' activity in the country; to safeguard the independence of judges; to establish courts as a guarantor of the observance of the rights and legitimate interests of citizens; and to implement steps that will have a bearing on the restructuring of legal education in the country, on strengthening the development of the material and technical base of justice, and on improving the material position of court workers.

The outcome of the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Jaruzelski, PZPR Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Polish People's Republic [PPR] State Council, who had been in the Soviet Union on a working visit, was discussed. It was remarked that the efforts made by the CPSU and the PZPR to carry through widescale economic and political reforms and to democratize society are contributing toward strengthening our countries' mutual understanding and cooperation. The practical results in implementing the declaration on Soviet-Polish cooperation in the fields of ideology, science, and culture are exerting a positive influence on strengthening our people's friendship and rapprochement.

The appropriate organizations and establishments have been set the task of drawing up a new model for economic cooperation between the USSR and the PPR, and of practically implementing the accords reached at summit level. The exchange of opinions that occured on international affairs confirmed the total coincidence of views on topical matters of the present day, which is an important factor in strengthening peace and security on the continent of Europe.

Having listened to a report on the outcome of the meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Vienamese Communist Party, the Politburo voiced its conviction that the development of the processes of restructuring and renovation in the USSR and the SRV will impart a fresh quality to Soviet-Vietnamese relations, and will contribute toward rising the effectiveness and mutual benefit of bilateral economic ties. The coincidence in the CPSU and approaches to the key problems of foreign policy—the issues of safeguarding peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region and throughout the world—was noted with satisfaction.

The politburo considered and approved the results of the talks Comrade Gorbachev and Comrade Shevardnadze had with Uno, minister of foreign affairs of Japan. The invigoration of the Soviet-Japanese political dialogue, the general improvement of bilateral relations, and a certain stepping up of links and contacts in practical fields of cooperation were noted with satisfaction. The importance was noted of the aspiration toward a further improvement of mutual relations and also the agreement to increase practical efforts to that end that were confirmed by both sides during the talks. It was deemed expedient to continue work on preparing a visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to Japan, which could take place in the context of the general improvement of Soviet-Japanese relations.

Considerations were approved in favor of continuing discussion with the Japanese side on questions connected with the conclusion of a peace treaty between the USSR and Japan, including within the framework of the standing working group on the peace treaty.

Baltic People's Fronts Assembly Held in Tallinn

LD1405170189 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 13 May 89

[Excerpts] Today an assembly of People's Fronts started its work in Tallinn. The president of the Lithuanian reform movement, Sajudis, Vytautas Landsbergis, made a speech at the assembly. He also conveyed the greetings of the former Lithuanian Foreign Minister (Joadem Urbshis). This is Eva Targ from Tallinn.

[Targ] It began on Saturday morning in a festive mood with the national flags of all the three Baltic countries flying high from the [word indistinct] assembly hall. Over 500 delegates representing the Seimas of the Lithuanian Sajudis, the duma of the Latvian Popular Front, and the Board of Trustees of the Estonian Popular Front, have gathered to discuss the aspects of gaining economic sovereignty in the Baltic states today and the question of political sovereignty in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania in the historic perspective; adjust the consequences of the Soviet-German deal of 1939, which caused the incorporation of the three countries into the Soviet Union, as economic sovereignty is not possible without political sovereignty. Another item on the agenda is the question of grass-roots movements in the political structure of the Soviet Union. A number of documents are going to be adopted at the Baltic assembly concerning the right of self-determination of the Baltic peoples, the implementation of the economic self-management project, the crimes of the Stalinist period, the build-up of the Soviet Army and the use of special units against demontrations as it was done in the capital of Georgia, Tbilisi, at the beginning of April.

The main aim of the assembly is to coordinate the efforts of the three popular movements so as to put forward a common stand in the newly elected people's congress, the legislature in Moscow. The first major item discussed at the Baltic assembly was the implementation of self-management in the Baltic countries. [passage omitted]

(Kazimira Rosuklainen), from the Lithuanian Sajudis stressed that the goal is the change of conditions, not separating totally from the rest of the Soviet Union. She had to note that the ideas of local autonomy had received a much warmer reception in other republics of the Soviet Union than by the Moscow authorities. So our efforts must be united, she stated. [words indistinct] that will not solve either our problems or the problems of the whole Soviet Union, she maintained.

The speakers also stressed the need for local currency, an idea not accepted by Moscow as that would be of (?a principal) means of equal economic change and of improving the living standards which have considerably fallen during the past few years. There has also been a marked rise in crime, and to avoid further consequences we must strive to act. We must strive for the true implementation of economic self-management, it was stressed in the speeches.

Questions of political sovereignty were under discussion next. The German-Soviet deal of 1939 was at the core of the question. [passage omitted]

Economic Independence Discussed

LD1305172489 Helsinki International Service in Finnish 1500 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] The People's Fronts of the Baltic countries started a 2-day joint meeting in Tallinn today. The aim of the meeting is first to agree on a common approach to questions of economic independence. But the meeting will also discuss what the people's deputies will do at the Congress of People's Deputies session in Moscow in a couple of weeks from now. Hannu Vilpponen reports from Tallinn.

[Viepponen] This is the first time that the supreme bodies, or the councils, of the People's Fronts of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania will jointly define their goals. Almost 500 official conference delagates are assembled in the impressive house of political education in Tallinn. Earlier joint meetings were held between small leading groups or experts.

Although the Estonian Communist Party provided the premises for the use of the People's Fronts, the party leader himself was not seen at the conference, although he was invited. Janis Vagris of Latvia and Lithuanian party leader Algirdas Brazauskas also decided to stay at home. It was unofficially reported in the corridors of the conference premises that the first secretaries of all three republics were in Moscow last Thursday, seeing General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev at a Politburo meeting to explain their aspirations for economic independence for their republics and that it was agreed there that the party leaderships should maintain a certain distance from the People's Fronts. Following the establishment of the People's Fronts in all three republics, the Intermovement, representing the Russian population, has emerged, and the party leaders must be able to talk to them, even though they would not approve of their aim for leadership by Moscow.

There are no Communist Party representatives among the invited foreign guests. Finland is represented by delegations of the Finnish People's Democratic League and the Green Association, and Sweden is represented by the country's Center Party. Some foreign guests who were invited also failed to come because the Soviet authorities did not grant them visas.

Today the discussion started with assessments by all three People's Fronts concerning the path to economic independence. At present under 10 percent of the industries on the territories of these republics is in their own hands, so to speak. The vast majority is directed straight from Moscow, via the different ministries. A few weeks ago the Moscow party leadership proposed that about two-thirds of the industries should be transferred to the management of the republics themselves. This does not seem to be enough for the People's Fronts. It has been demanded that the direction of the entire economic activity should be in the republics themselves, and also that a joint Baltic market area should be formed.

The charismatic Doctor of Economics (Kasimirs Brunskien) who presented the Lithuanian People's Front's economic program, said that independence, or sovereignty, cannot be extended. It either exists or does not exist. The republics should take steps themselves without waiting for instructions from Moscow. He also said that Moscow, of course, could suppress us, but at least that would not improve the Soviet economy.

Another topic of discussion today was the continuing debate about the political independence of the Baltic republics. The People's Fronts, like the Communist Parties of the republics, start from the idea that the republics should have the right to decide what matters they allow the central leadership to manage and what they manage themselves. Another central issue in this matter is the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and the contention following from it that the Soviet Union conquered the Baltic countries and that they did not by any means join the Soviet Union voluntarily.

This evening the common desire for independence will be proclaimed with a demonstration at the Tallinn Castle Square where the flame of Baltic unity will arrive from Vilnius via Riga. Tomorrow the most important thing from the practical point of view will be discussed: agreement on a common approach at the Congress of People's Deputies session which meets on 25 May in Moscow. Most of the People's Deputies of the Baltic states belong to the People's Fronts, and they intend to see to it that a sufficient number of them will also be elected to the new parliament, or the Supreme Soviet.

Lithuanian Delegate Notes Objectives

LD1305211789 Moscow TASS in English 2105 GMT 13 May 89

[Excerpts] Tallinn May 13 TASS—Representatives of mass public movements of the Soviet Baltic republics assembled today in the capital of Soviet Estonia, the city of Tallinn. [passage omitted]

"At present, in conditions of perestroyka, we can become much closer to one another," assembly delegate Algimantis Cekuolis, editor-in-chief of the Lithuanian newspaper GIMTASIS KRASTAS, who was elected people's deputy of the U.S.S.R. on March 26, told TASS. "Of course, there is no sense in talking about any other economic or state union outside the Soviet Union, but it is necessary to discuss perspectives of closer contacts in all fields," he said. [passage omitted]

International Conference Sought

LD1405174189 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1600 GMT 14 May 89

[Correspondent Anders Ericsson report from Tallinn]

[Text] The three Baltic popular fronts now demand that the UN secretary general call an international conference on the Baltic republics. The three popular fronts had their first big joint meeting in Tallinn today.

[Ericsson] The three popular fronts of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania demand in the resolution passed this afternoon that UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar or the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe call a meeting to investigate the legality of the Soviet annexation of the Baltic countries. With this demand, the Baltic popular fronts go further than they have before. Their aim is to make the Baltic countries the next big foreign policy burden for Moscow now that the troops have been called home from Afghanistan.

The three popular fronts also demand that the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact from 1939 be published in its entirety before the end of the year, even the secret protocols in which Germany and the Soviet Union divided Europe into two spheres of infuence so that the independent Baltic republics came to belong to the Soviet spere of influence.

The meeting here in Tallinn, which has been going on for 2 days, is the first in which the three Baltic popular fronts have acted together and formulated joint demands to the leadership in Moscow. This manifesto of a united front is, of course, the main reason for the meeting. But one can also notice a certain impatience with the fact that the political and economic restructuring is proceeding all too slowly. The economic situation has worsened and Moscow still shows evidence of a superpower ideology, it is said in another of today's resolutions. Many of the representatives here in Tallinn will take their places in the Soviet parliament, the national assembly, 2 weeks from now and the demands formulated here will also form the guidelines for this parliamentary work.

Session Ends; Documents Adopted

LD1405181189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 14 May 89

[Text] Tallinn, 14 May (TASS)—The Baltic assembly, to which the leaders and other representatives of the people's front of Estonia and Latvia and of the Lithuanian Sajudis movement for restructuring were delegates, completed its work in the Estonian capital today.

The delegates to the assembly adopted a number of documents expressing the common stance of these movements on issues of the political and economic development of these republics and of the USSR. The documents speak, in particular, about the need for economic development of the Baltic republics according to the principles contained in the concepts for regional financial autonomy drafted here. Apart from this, the documents point out the need for further expansion of political independence of the Baltic republics and of other republics that make up the USSR.

The leaders of these movements also signed an agreement that envisages further cooperation among the Baltic popular movements and the increasing of these movements' activities for reinforcement of economic and political contacts among the three Baltic republics.

During the assembly, a number of documents also were drafted which were signed by more than 50 USSR people's deputies from Baltic republics. According to the decision by the deputies, these documents are to form the basis of their activities at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

'Vremya' Accused of Disinformation on Tbilisi Poison

PM1005120189 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 4

[Interview with Irakliy Menagarishvili, Georgian minister of health, by correspondent Mikhail Dzhindzhikhashvili: "'No One Has the Right...'"—date and place not given]

[Text] A TASS report carried on the 26 April "Vremya" newscast caused general indignation in the republic. It claimed that autopsies on the bodies of those who perished on 9 April in Tbilisi had revealed that the cause of death were not chemical toxins.

In this connection a ZARYA VOSTOKA correspondent met Irakliy Menagarishvili, Georgian minister of health, and asked him to comment on this Central Television report.

[Menagarishvili] Let us put aside emotion and look at this report from the legal angle, so to speak. After all, we are all in favor of establishing a rule-of-law state. It has to be stated that no one had the right to make such a statement until specialists have reached a final cxonclusion.

[Dzhindzhikhashvili] Irakliy Afinogenovich, but perhaps certain information has leaked out?

[Menagarishvili] There is no such information. There is... Do not force me too to infringe the legal profession's ethics. I repeat, let us wait for the conclusion. However, it is possible to say one thing. "Vremya" made use of disinformation. Why? Who stands to gain from this? The answers to these questions are yet to be found.

[Dzhindzhikhashvili] How many people were affected by the "harmless" tear gas?

[Menagarishvili] More than 1,400 people turned to us for assistance. We were forced to hospitalize more than 300 of them. Doctors fought desperately for their lives and health. Unfortunately, we have still not been told the composition of the toxic chemical agents. We still have 167 people in the in-patient department. Two are in serious condition, but there is no longer any immediate threat to their lives.

[Dzhindzhikhashvili] As far as I know, a group of doctors from various medical centers in the country specializing in toxicology arrived in Tbilisi the day before yesterday.

[Menagarishvili] They are not just toxicologists. Seven specialists have arrived. They include Professor Grigoriy Avrutskiy, head of the All-Union Center for Mental Illnesses; Doctor of Medical Sciences Dzhano Dzhibladze, USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Neurology Scientific Research Institute staffer; Doctor of Medical Sciences Lidiya Kozlovskaya, All-Union Nephrological Center staffer; Doctor of Medical Sciences Aleksandr Nedostup, reader at the Moscow Sechenov Medical Institute faculty of internal medicine; Candidate of Medical Sciences Yuriy Ostapenko, junior member of the teaching staff at faculty of clinical toxicology of the Central Institute for Advanced Training of Physicians named for Lenin; Doctor Sergey Yushkov, toxicologist and resuscitation specialist at the republic paediatric toxicological center, and Aleksandr Nazarov, scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences All-Union Endocrinology Scientific Center.

In addition a group of military doctors specializing in toxicology arrived yesterday. All the necessary conditions for their work and an unbiased assessment of the causes which led to mass poisoning have been created for them. Let us wait for their conclusions. Only in this way will truth triumph. I would like to remind everybody that a painstaking, complex effort is under way to bring out the truth.

[Dzhindzhikhashvili] Irakliy Afinogenovich, but people are, nonetheless, waiting at least for some preliminary assessment...

[Menagarishvili] We have agreed that we will wait for the conclusion. I have already said everything that I can say in my statement on Georgian television, and in my interview to you. I can only repeat that the report carried on the "Vremya" newscast is disinformation. We do not know the origin of this report. We tried to establish the sources of this information, where it might have come from, but we did not succeed.

Ryzhkov Addresses Politburo on Armenia Rebuilding

LD1305115989 Moscow TASS in English 1141 GMT 13 May 89

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Kiosa]

[Text] Moscow May 13 TASS—The commission of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee has underscored the need to steeply expedite the re-building work in Armenia. Its regular meeting, which was conducted jointly with the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers, ended late in the evening on Friday here.

Speaking at the meeting, Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov noted the great amount of work which has been accomplished in the republic over the time that has passed since the earthquake. Representatives of all of this country's republics now work in Armania. The building or restoration of housing, social and consumer service facilities and enterprises has gone under way. Life-support systems are in operation in populated localities.

Building and assembly work to the tune of 173.2 million roubles was accomplished in cities and villages in the first four months of this year, and in rurual areas—worth 84.7 million roubles. All this gives credit to the whole of the Soviet people, Ryzhkov stressed.

But the principal objective now is to unconditionally fulfil the task to rebuild everything which was destroyed in two years. One has to admit here that not everything goes as one would like to. The commission noted that some self-complacency has been observed in actions of various ministries and agencies lately, they lack coordination and the realisation of good decisions is complicated by bureaucratic snags.

The supply of local building materials for restoration work remains the key problem. Railways continue not to cope with a large freight flow: Some 1,600 of 2,000 cars, which daily arrive in Armenia, are unloaded. Sharp barbs were thrown at heads of government of many union republics, above all Russia and Uzbekistan, for tardiness.

The Politburo commission demanded that all participants in the restoration work in Armenia assure as early as in the next few weeks a qualitative breakthough in their activity and create a dependable building base. Particular importance should be paid to the quality of construction since defect is not only impermissible here but also felonious. Mindful of this, a decision was made to introduce since June 1 quality inspection of everything which is erected in the disaster-hit zone.

The Politburo commission heard a report of the state commission to check the quality of design and construction in Armenia's earthquake-struck areas and reached the conclusion that the catastrophic consequences of the earthquake in Armenia are explained above all by the low quality of the building and assembly work, by the inadmissible violation of design norms and the big strength of underground tremors. There would have been no such huge human casualties if the established standards and regulations at all stages of construction, from design to assembly, were observed.

Suffice it say that the majority of buildings in those areas were erected by flagrantly violating standards of design in earthquake-prone areas. The consequences of the earthquake were aggravated by the revision in 1978 of seismicity standards in Spitak-Kirovakan-Stepanavan areas toward their lowering, which was made by the republican research institutes.

The Politburo commission made a decision to send the findings and materials of the state commission to the USSR Office of Public Prosecutor to file criminal charges and bring those responsible to account.

11 May Yerevan Rally Reviews Prevailing Situation

PM1305152389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Report by own correspondent A. Sarkisyan: "Rally at the Matenadaran"]

[Text] Yerevan—An authorized rally was held at the Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, the Matenadaran, in Yerevan 11 May. The organizers, representatives of the informal organization calling itself the Armenian All-National [obshchenatsionalnyy] Movement, stated that they propose calling an extraordinary session of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet to discuss the prevailing situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, elaborate a course for the republic's leadership in this area, and examine the progress of the work of clearing up the aftermath of the earthquake and questions regarding the lifting of the curfew and the release of arrested members of the "Karabakh" Committee.

Party and soviet leaders, the city military commandant, and a representative of the republic Prosecutor's Office were invited to the rally. Unfortunately, no party officials addressed the rally. On the other hand, Military Commandant N. Pishchev answered all questions in a calm and business-like way. The following is an extract from the dialogue:

[Question] "By the decision of which bodies was the curfew introduced in the republic?

[N. Pishchev] "By the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, with the assent of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet."

[Question] "Can rallies be held under curfew conditions?"

[Pishchev] "Yes, if the organizers contact the military commandant's office and obtain appropriate authorization."

[Question] "Can republic bodies lift the curfew?"

[Pishchev] "They must make representation to the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, which will make the decision."

The representative of the republic Prosecutor's Office was asked on what grounds Ministry of Internal Affairs organs detain individual citizens, subjecting them to administrative arrest for up to 30 days, and whether the Prosecutor's Office monitors the legality of such militia action.

"Of the 30 cases submitted," A. Arutyunyan, department chief in the republic Prosecutor's Office, said, "only 3 have been deemed to lack sufficient grounds."

The representative of the Prosecutor's Office also reported that, according to available information, the investigation of the case of members of the "Karabakh" Committee had been completed and would soon be handed over to the court.

Bishop and leader of Artsakhskiy Eparchy Parkev Martirosyan addressed the rally. After relating the history of the church in Nagorno-Karabakh, he reported that Armenian churches would soon be opening in the oblast.

Rally participants adopted a resolution on convening an extraordinary session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet by 20 May. The situation in the city is calm and the rally was held without any excesses or heating of passions. Individual shouts on the need for a strike found no support.

Poisonings, Curfew Discussed

NC1305110289 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 12 May 89

[Excerpts] An authorized rally took place in Yerevan on 11 May and was attended by tens of thousands of Yerevan residents and workers from other areas. The people had come here because of the concern felt over the grave situation in the republic following the natural disaster and because of the tense situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh authonomous oblast [NKAO].

Speeches were delivered at the rally by intellectuals, state and public organizations' leaders, people's deputies and representatives of NKAO. Extreme concern was expressed in these speeches over the recent incidents, such as strikes, the inoperation of schools, sitting demonstrations, and (?agitations) in Karabakh. The Armenian residents of the oblast are not satisfied with the oblast's current socioeconomic development. [passage omitted]

The rally participants expressed deep concern over the mass poisonings in the republic, as well as over the grave ecological situation that usually has said consequences. However, the relevant organizations are not taking effective measures in order to clarify the reasons behind the poisonings, to prevent similar incidents, to review the technological systems of production—particularly of many basic (?industries)—and in order to close down harmful production units if necessary.

Serious concern was expressed over the fate of the Karabakh committee members. (?Proposals) were made on lifting the special status situation and the curfew in the republic, and on the possibility of discussing the said issues during the upcoming regular session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

Nagorno-Karabakh Issue Viewed

LD1205170189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] In connection with the events in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], the situation in Yerevan has grown tense again. A meeting of many thousands of people took place near the Matenadaran building yesterday evening. Our correspondent, Koryun Khumaryan, reports:

[Khumaryan] [chanting] '(Miatsum)', '(Komite)', '(Nostavsyrjan)'—meaning 'reunification', 'committee', 'session.' This is what approximately 300,000 Yerevan inhabitants are chanting. They gathered at the Matenadaran building for the first approved meeting since the introduction of a special situation and curfew here last November. There is pain and concern in the speeches—concern, above all, over the new aggravation of the situation in the NKAO. In the unanimous opinion of the meeting, the situation in the autonomous oblast is such as demands immediate measures, which only a session of the republic's Supreme Soviet can work out. This is the main demand of the meeting and the first point of the resolution adopted here.

The very fact that the meeting was allowed, despite the curfew and special situation, and the participation in it by representatives of the authoities and the military command, are indications of the fact that the republic's leadership also is concerned about the situation in both Karabakh and Armenia, and is ready to begin a dialogue on all matters worrying society. However, as many speakers noted—and this is laid down in the meeting's resolution—a dialogue presupposes the equality of the sides, but the continuing curfew and special situation are not the best background for an open and direct dialogue. It is necessary to note that appeals for extreme measures, such as a strike and application to the UN Organization, which can hardly be of any benefit either to our republic or to our brothers in Nagorno-Karabakh, also were heard at the meeting. Only democracy, wide-ranging glasnost, and actions strictly within the framework of the Constitution will help resolve the problems that have accumulated.

4 Killed in Armed Bank Robbery in Armenia

NC1205085889 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1600 GMT 8 May 89

[Statement by the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic Interior Ministry]

[Text] On 7 May 1989 at (?2300), unidentified criminals organized an armed attack in Charentsavan City against the local branch of the state bank. As a result three militiamen were killed; among them were Lazar Shambri Garabedyan and Seyran Sotigi Altunyan. Alvazt Stepani Stepanyan, the state bank cashier, was also killed. The criminals have managed to escape. The republic's Interior Ministry calls on all citizens to provide information about the criminal act or about its participants to the state [word indistinct] agency at the Interior Ministry or to phone 561243-521257 at the republic's Interior Ministry [words indistinct].

Armenian Officials on Interethnic Issue, Refugees

NC1405082589 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 12 May 89

[Excerpts] Yerevan, 12 May (ARMENPRES)—It is difficult to overlook the role of the Ararat plain in the republic's social-economic life. How do the workers here live today, and what are their concerns and problems? [passage omitted]

These and many other issues were discussed on 8 May during frank conversations in the Oktemberyanskiy and Edzhmiatsinskiy rayons, where Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, has travelled. He was accompanied by O. Lobov, second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and by V. Movsisyan, second deputy chairman of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers and chairman of the republic's state agro-industry. [passage omitted]

Answering questions on the aggravation of the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO], Comrade Arutyunyan pointed to the NKAO special administration committee's role in regulating interethnic relations toward a solution to the NKAO problem. He said that a meeting has been planned with the NKAO special administration committee representatives in Yerevan in order to study major issues concerning the development of economic and cultural ties between the republic and the NKAO.

Special decisions have been adopted by the USSR and the republican governments aimed at solving the problem of the refugees from Azerbaijan. In the Republic's various rayons and towns, effective measures are being taken to ensure jobs, houses and building plots for the refugees. [passage omitted]

Karabakh Armenians' Appeal to Gorbachev Published

NC1205152789 Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Dear compatriots, the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] has again become acute. The first secretaries of four rayon party committees, chairmen of rayon soviet executive committees, members of the NKAO special administration committee, and USSR people's deputies have appealed to Soviet leader Michael Gorbachev in an open letter which has been published in KHORHRDAYIN KARABAKH newspaper.

Esteemed Michael Sergeyevich, on many occasions you have mentioned in your addresses that for decades the previous Azerbaijani leadership pursued a disicriminatory policy that trampled upon the national dignity of the Armenian population of the oblast. This assessment has taken its deserved place in the decisions endorsed by the party and the government. (?One would have hoped that) the developments during the recent period would have created the basis for assuring the termination of such a policy towards the NKAO once and for all.

Unfortunately, we must inform you that the hopes of the Armenian population of the NKAO have not come true. The NKAO is a bone of contention as it was before. Even the introduction of a special administration system has not defended the oblast against the gross and impertinent intervention by Azerbaijan. Moreover, one gets the impression that the special administration committee has chosen the path of supporting the Azerbaijani leadership in its intensive Azerbaijanization of the oblast. And contrary to the decisions passed on the socio-economic development of the NKAO, there has been purposeful allocation of resources and speedy reconstruction of Azerbaijani villages. In these villages the construction of buildings of industrial and social importance, roads, and houses is continuing. If we add to that the fact that no work of any sort has been undertaken in the Armenian villages, then the feelings of social and national oppression on the part of the Armenian population of the oblast become understandable.

We continue to maintain, the paper adds, that the special administration system should not replace the local party and soviet organizational structure; it should be an authority above these organizations and replace the Azerbaijani Republic's leadership, which has totally lost, and is continuing to lose, its mandate over the NKAO-related problems. We are profoundly convinced that the tragedy that befell the Armenian people [the earthquake] cannot be exploited in order to relegate the NKAO problem to oblivion.

In the concluding part of the letter it is said: We, expressing the will and conscience of the overwhelming majority of the NKAO population, insist on the undelayed and effective secession of the NKAO from the administrative sovereignty of the Azerbaijan Republic. The more correct and just solution has been and would be the reunification of the NKAO with Armenia.

Baku Representatives Send Appeal to Gorbachev

NC1405102889 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 13 May 89

[Text of the appeal sent to Mikhail Gorbachev by the representatives of the workers and intellectuals of Baku on developments in Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] To Mikhail S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Moscow:

Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, we, the representatives of the workers and intellectuals of the multinational city of Baku, deeply disturbed by the latest developments in the region, believe that it is our duty to appeal to you.

The appointment of a special administration committee for the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] became necessary. However, we have been surprised by the failure to obstruct the efforts of certain forces to incite inter-ethnic discord. Ways and means of directing pressure on the republic's leaders and the central leadership are being employed once again. This state of affairs is leading to inter-ethnic clashes. Regardless of the steps that are being taken to normalize the situation, forces eager to obstruct this process are emerging in NKAO. Recently, a group of [words indistinct] in NKAO addressed (?a letter) to you [words indistinct].

Their objective is to weaken confidence in the correctness of the decisions adopted by the party and government in connection with NKAO. Their objective is clear; it is to create tension in the region once again. It has become a rule to create instability on the eve of important political developments in the country. The USSR people's deputies congress is one of these developments.

The letter's authors described the construction of industrial and social installations in the Azerbaijani towns in NKAO as a move to squeeze the Armenian people into limited areas. However, the major part of the funds—precisely 96 percent—that have been provided for NKAO's social and economic development have been allocated for the Armenian residential areas. Instead of voicing discontent and raising objections, it is necessary to move to [words indistinct] in order to renovate the cities and towns and resolve thousands of accumulated problems. It is now time to carry out practical work.

Undoubtedly, the roots of inter-ethnic discord are buried in the past—that is, in times when concern for the workers was displayed through (?praise) and through reports on achievements.

The party policy has created a genuine atmosphere and opportunities to resolve the peoples' problems. However, the trend of improvement has not satisfied a number of people. The dark forces, which are afraid of openly standing against reconstruction, are (?trying to use) openness and democratization in order to turn reconstruction back from within and remove its influence. Concealing their narrow ethnic and (?separatist) objectives behind frivolous sentences, the letter's authors made a new effort to deal a blow on the people's friendship, a concept which we regard as sacred and which makes us feel proud.

We believe that the time has come to obstruct the malicious elements and tricksters, who use the objective difficulties to raise a clamor. Law must be supreme in the legal state we have established. The triumph of democracy must be secured.

The logical and compromising stand adopted by the Republic in order to stabilize the NKAO situation and provide security for the citizens is not being correctly assessed by the enemies of reconstruction. In light of this, the strength of the laws must be used to prevent new manifestations of inter-ethnic discord. The group of extremists, who are forcing the people to the edge of a precipice, must be rendered ineffective.

Mr Mikhail S. Gorbachev, we are aware of how strong a resistance is being put up against the improvement of our general work by the opponents of reconstruction. We are also aware of the difficulties you are confronted with in your effort to remove them and the strength and energy you spend to achieve this. The multinational workers class of Baku and the working people of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic highly assess your deep humane feelings, great services in modernizing life, and courageous struggle to safeguard truth, justice, and the national efficiency of the people of the Soviet Union.

We voice our full support for the party's reconstruction policy. Fully congnizant of the magnitude of the work that has to be carried out to maintain Lenin's (?constitution) on inter-ethnic relations and cleanse it from distortions and deformations, establish full unity, and provide prosperity and progress for the people, we wish to make it known that the restructuring of inter-ethnic relations does not mean the remarking of boundaries.

Mr Mikhail S. Gorbachev, we urge you to take resolute measures. Otherwise, the future developments may lead to unbelievable results.

We wish you good health and success in your auspicious and unwavering work for socialism. We also wish you an auspicious visit to the PRC.

We convey to you our deep respect and veneration.

[Signed] Kurban Abbasov, (?Kosekhanum) Azizbayeva, Bayram Bayramov, [name indistinct] Barusheva, Ziya Bunyadov, Bakhtiyar Vahabzade, [name indistinct] Gorbacheva, (?Meze) Ibragimov, El'dar Salayev, and others.

Stepanakert Strike Continues; Troops Harassed

PM1305172189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by own special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel N. Belan: "Regarding the Events in Nagorno-Karabakh"]

[Text] Stepanakert, 13 May —The situation in the autonomous oblast remains difficult. That was how, if briefly, A. Volskiy, chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Special Administration Committee described the situation when he appeared on local television on the evening of 12 May. During his address Arkadiy Ivanovich answered a number of questions worrying the autonomous oblast's population.

The strike continues. Workers in a number of sectors of the national economy—industry, construction, and transport, in particular—in Mardakertskiy, Martuninskiy, Askeranskiy, and Gadrutskiy Rayons are involved in it. In Stepanakert only enterprises providing vital necessities—the bakery, dairy and meat combines, and food stores—air and rail transport, the communications service, and medical establishments are operating.

The latest report by the Special Region Command and Political Department points with concern to the increase in ethnically based mutual threats and insults and conflicts. There have been instances of rudeness and disobedience toward troop details protecting public order.

On 10 and 11 May, for example, inhabitants of a number of apartment blocks on Engels Street, in Stepanakert, ostentatiously ignoring the onset of the curfew, assembled in groups of 50 to 150 people and insulted soldiers, shouting "Clear out of here!" Bottles and other items were simultaneously thrown at the troops from the balconies of the blocks. These unlawful acts particularly escalated when a detail tried to detain two drunken men who were among the throng on the street.

The fact that a group of veterans organized a sit-down demonstration on 9 May, Victory Day, at the Glory Memorial during the laying of flowers at the Eternal Flame has generated deep indignation among many inhabitants of Stepanakert and servicemen. Shouts of "Shame! Shame!" and "Get out of Karabakh!" were heard during the playing of the Soviet national anthem and the ceremonial march-past by troops of the garrison. The blasphemy of such conduct on a spot sacred to every Soviet person is obvious. Equally obvious was the absurdity of the insults directed at the servicemen, who for a long time have been ensuring public order and the safety of citizens of both nationalities in the autonomous republic.

The unabating ethnically based clashes are a source of special concern. On 8 May, for example, a mass fight involving around 800 Armenians and Azerbaijanis occurred in the area of the village of Zardakh, in Mardakertskiy Rayon. Three people of Azerbaijani nationality, including two women, were injured by gunshot wounds, while two Armenians received injuries of differing severity as a result of a truck driving into the crowd. Only after the intervention of a military subunit which arrived on the scene was the clash stopped and public order restored. Criminal proceedings have been instituted in this case.

Rustling of livestock, both privately and state-owned, continues in the oblast's rayons. Given the events that have occurred, these thefts assume the nature of a provocation and serve to further inflame interethnic discord.

In Stepanakert on 12 May two vehicles transporting stone blocks to constuct a school annex in Kirkidzhan were showered with stones.

Interethnic conflicts and violations of public order and the curfew primarily act against the population of Nagorno-Karabakh itself, delaying and even thwarting the oblast's socioeconomic transormations. For example, a team of Saratov drillers who have not been allocated the necessary equipment because of the strike have for some days been unable to start work to improve Stepanakert's water supply. Highly skilled specialists who have come to the NKAO from various regions of the country, including Armenia, to give concrete help to develop the national economy also remain idle.

The situation which has taken shape just recently is a cause for concern.

Troops Increased; Curfew Extended

PM1305155189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 May 89 p 1

[Own special correspondent V. Larin report under the rubric "Latest!": "Stepanakert: Alarming May"]

[Text] Every day brings alarming news. Instances of interethnic clashes are becoming more frequent. Reciprocal threats, fights involving many people, hooligan attacks on the passengers of cars and buses from Azerbaijan or Armenia—this dismal chronicle could be continued at length. Therefore the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Special Administration Committee is taking the necessary measures. The troop contingent is being strengthened, and the curfew has been considerably extended.

Mutual distrust has intensified considerably just recently. The Special Administration Committee is being accused by the Armenian population of pursuing an inconsistent policy—accelerating construction in Azerbaijani villages and slowing the pace of work in Armenian villages. Questions have been put to the committee at meetings of the collectives of a number of Stepanakert enterprises and institutions. And the time for an answer has been set. However, a strike began in the city 3 May, before the deadline. The strikers are demanding the restoration of the powers of the party's oblast committee and the oblast soviet executive committee, and the reexamination of the Special Administration Committee's composition.

At a recent meeting of the party-soviet aktiv in Baku A. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, rejected the accusations against Azerbaijan. He also broached the main issue—acceleration of construction in Azerbaijani villages. In actual fact, according to the plan for this year, out of the R96 million allocated for construction in the NKAO a total of R4 million is earmarked for Azerbaijani populated points.

Unloaded trains stand at Stepanakert's railroad station. Silence reigns in enterprise shops. "It is not known how long the strike will last," the newspaper SOVETSKIY KARABAKH writes.

Volskiy Calls Situation 'Critical'

NC1305095189 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1800 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] A meeting took place between the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Special Administration Committee and a group of the autonomous oblast's reporters.

The meeting was opened by Arkadiy Volskiy, chairman of the Special Administration Committee. He pointed out in particular that the situation in the NKAO and especially in Stepanakert has become so critical that these may have (?unforeseen) consequences. The continuing strike, which [words indistinct] of public economic situation, only in the field of rural economy, has surely destroyed 90 percent of (?production). This situation agitates feelings. The priority issue today is to present all possible clashes on interethnic grounds in the areas where both Armenians and Azerbaijanis are living. He pointed out that the Special Administration Committee's supreme duty is to guarantee the safety of the residents. He added that the media has an important role to play in helping to diminish the recent tension.

Following this, Arkadiy Volskiy answered questions by the participants on the reasons behind the current strikes, on ways to emerge from the current [word indistinct] situation, and on the outlook for the NKAO's development.

Volskiy Says Strikes Unproductive

LD1305181189 Moscow TASS in English 1802 GMT 13 May 89

[Text] Stepanakert May 13 TASS—The situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonmous Region continues to be tense. Clashes keep arising on inter-ethnic grounds. On May 10 and 11, the curfew was intentionally violated by some residents in Stepanakert. Action was taken to call and bring them to order.

A fighting brawl involving nearly 300 Armenians and Azerbaijanis broke out in the Mardakersk District. Five people of both nationalities were injured. Criminal proceedings were instituted.

Attempts have been made to disrupt work in the fields which threatens undesirable consequences for the situation in agriculture and the entire regional economy. A drilling team from the city of Saratov was unable to start work on improving the supply of water to Stepanakert because a strike cut short provisions of required equipment. Other highly qualified experts who have arrived to help Nagorno-Karabakh from all over the country, including from Armenia, also have to stand idle.

The special administration committee members, Communist Party activists and public order officials are taking action to ensure public safety and security and engaging in direct dialogue with the population. Thus, when a crowd of about 700 extremely agitated people, mostly refugees, assembled in the city's central square on May 11, the chairman and other committee members came out to talk to the people and answer numerous questions. As a result, another flash-point of tension was extinguished.

Local television broadcast Friday night an interview with Arkadiy Volskiy, chairman of the special administration committee.

Volskiy said that the people of Nagorno-Karabakh were looking forward to the forthcoming congress of the Soviet people's Deputies and the Communist Party Central Committee's plenum on inter-ethnic relations as the questions posed by them need consideration at the top level.

Volskiy stressed that work stoppage is no way to settle the Nagorno-Karabakh issue as all it does is complicate the area's relations with other regions. For example, the strike at the Stepanakert engineering factory, which was recently incorporated in Armenia's Luis Production amalgamation, puts in a quandary the amalgamation's collective which undertook to repay half of the Stepanakert factory's debts. The strike at the Karabakh silk-making factory tells adversely on the work of its textile industry partners in Yerevan and Tbilisi.

There is no justification for stopping construction of housing and social welfare facilities the lack of which is acutely felt in the region. In Stepanakert, public transport is not functioning, attempts have been made to close down the polyclinic and even to involve school children in strikes. The special administration committee received letters signed by groups of parents demanding that school classes be resumed immediately.

In the course of the interview, Volskiy said that more was done for the social and economic development of the region in the three- and-a-half months of the committee's activity than in the previous ten years. The remaining problems must be considered soberly, without outbursts of uncontrolled passions.

Problems in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous Region have formed such a tight knot that it can only be disentangled by joint efforts of both Armenians and Azerbaijanis. To avert bloodshed and escalation of interethnic strife is the top priority task.

On-going developments in Nagorno-Karabakh are subjected to close scrutiny at daily meetings of committee members, public order, party and government officials who are in control of the situation in the region.

Baku Deputy Prosecutor Briefs Media on Crime

PM1005171989 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 3

[AZERINFORM report: "To Defend Citizens' Rights: Briefing at AZERINFORM"]

[Text] For a long time statistics characterizing crime in our country and in the republic were kept "under lock and key." It was in this way that a semblance of general prosperity was created to lull people's awareness. But now that this eloquent accountability has gone public, it has also aroused perfectly understandable alarm in people because, in addition to appreciable growth in all kinds of "ordinary" crime, a whole seam of crimes that were considered uncharacteristic of our society has also been uncovered. This relates to the existence of organized crime and mafia associations, corruption, racketeering, drug addiction, and prostitution. Offenses have begun to be committed on interethnic grounds.

Serious concern at these problems was expressed at a recent meeting at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee with leaders of the Prosecutor's Office, the Ministries of Justice and Internal Affairs, the KGB, and also the mass media devoted to the activities of law enforcement organs in ensuring legality and law and order in the republic.

This important discussion was continued by a briefing at AZERINFORM, in which representatives of Azerbaijan's mass media and own correspondents of a number of the country's central publications participated.

Addressing the journalists, M.K. Babayev, first deputy prosecutor of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic, reported that the republic Prosecutor's Office had been working in a sharply exacerbated operational situation in the second half of last year and the first quarter of this year. During this period almost one-third more grave crimes were committed, the number of violent assaults doubled, the number of murders, cases of grievous bodily harm, and robberies increased by almost one-fourth, and the number of thefts of personal property increased by one-half.

The work of the Prosecutor's Office was also complicated in connection with the events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. The resettlement problem arose acutely. In this connection, a new interethnic relations department has been set up under the republic Prosecutor's Office, and its tasks include preventing and averting offenses on these grounds.

Prosecutor's Office organs devote special attention to the struggle against embezzlers of public property. Investigations are now continuing into more than 30 such cases, each of which involves considerable effort and necessitates the creation of investigative teams.

However, there are still substantial shortcomings and errors in the work of the Prosecutor's Office, which have an adverse effect on the state of legality and law and order in the republic. Appropriate work is being done to eradicate them.

N.I. Yusifov, the republic's deputy minister of internal affairs, pointed out in his speech that the changes taking place in our society are having a very positive effect on asserting the principles of social justice, strengthening law and order, and intensifying the struggle against crime. At the same time it has to be pointed out that the militia is still working in the old way, in terms both of technical equipment and work methods. It is, moreover, fettered to a considerable extent by obsolete instructions and normative documents.

Meanwhile, criminals are coming up with increasingly refined methods, and new kinds of crimes are emerging, about which much is now being said in the press. This is why a new department is being set up under the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs to combat organized crime, which will be equipped with the most modern equipment and manned by highly professional personnel.

The problem of finding work for young people is particularly acute in the republic right now. Statistics show that most crimes are committed precisely by young people not employed in social production. And there is no proper concern locally for employing people returning from places of imprisonment. Divisional inspectors can and must do great work in this area, and special demands are made on them today.

Internal affairs organs are now resolutely ridding themselves of people who have discredited themselves and of incompetent workers. Last year alone 217 people were dismissed from the ranks of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. They are being replaced primarily by workers, party and Leninist Communist Youth League personnel, and "Afgantsy" servicemen.

A.A. Zeynalov, first deputy chairman of the republic Supreme Court, told those present that exactingness toward the quality of preliminary investigation and toward the validity of the charge made against the accused has increased particularly now in the work of the courts. The criminal must be punished, and this is precisely one of the chief principles of justice—the presumption of innocence.

It is no secret that this principle was violated repeatedly during the stagnation times, when court decisions were sometimes adopted on orders "from above" and sometimes were even simply fabricated. This is why the number of cases being examined through supervision has now increased. They are mainly verdicts from the seventies with regard to which many appeals are being received. During 1986-1988 the republic Supreme Court upheld 911 appeals. The innocent who were condemned have been rehabilitated, and the terms of imprisonment have been reduced for a considerable number.

The courts have become more humane; not liberal, but precisely more human. Courts are faced with the paramount task of attentively studying everything a criminal has done and investigating his personality and the reasons that prompted him to commit a criminal act. Pointing to shortcomings in the courts' work connected mainly with instances of formalism, callousness, and bureaucracy, the Supreme Court spokesman pointed out that strict measures are being taken with regard to them all.

S.D. Gasanova, first deputy minister of justice, described how the republic's justice organs are carrying out their work of assisting and helping courts to ensure a proper standard of justice. Chief attention has begun to be devoted to the qualitative aspect of the courts' work. It is a question of preventing any violations of legality by them whatever which is a very important criterion for assessing the courts' activity. At the same time it should be admitted that instances of the illegal conviction of citizens still occur. Thus, in 1988, 11.6 percent of all verdicts were set aside or changed, and of these 4 percent were passed in 1988, while 7.6 percent were verdicts from the seventies. In addition, 154 court cases were dismissed, of which 136, again, were from recent years.

The speaker pointed out that great work has to be done to fully ensure the courts' independence, strengthen their prestige, and also enhance the legal and professional standards of their workers. The recently created Institute for Advanced Training of Legal Cadres, so far the only one in the country, will play a role of considerable importance on this path.

A.F. Dashdamirov, chief of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee State Law Department, spoke at the briefing. The process of our society's revolutionary renewal, he said, is inconceivable without serious changes in the activities of law enforcement organs. They have been set the important task of mobilizing all forces for the struggle against the mafia, corruption, and professional and organized crime, ensuring the defense of citizens' rights and interests, and strengthening law and order in the republic. The work of law enforcement organs must be radically restructured, as emphasized at the recent meeting of the republic Communist Party Central Committee.

The need to enhance the supervisory role of the Prosecutor's Office and improve the activities of Prosecutor's Office organs in preventing and averting offenses was also noted among the priority tasks. Every effort must also be made to enhance the courts' prestige and ensure their total independence.

The question of increasing legal propaganda was touched on, and it was reported that the elaboration of a republic program of universal primary legal education is being completed.

It was further pointed out that a great effort by primary party organizations and political organs is needed to activate the work of law enforcement organs. This is why the republic Communist Party Central Committee State Law Department sees it as its chief task to strengthen the vanguard role of Communists, and great work is being done in this area. Thus seminars were held recently for chiefs and deputy chiefs of city and rayon party committee organizational work departments, at which there was an exchange of experience on the question of enhancing the role of party organizations in forming a rule-of-law state in light of the 19th All-Union Party Conference guidelines. There was also a 2-day seminar of political workers and secretaries of primary party organizations of the republic's internal affairs organs.

The speaker asked the representatives of the press to provide wider coverage of the whole activity of law enforcement organs and to react keenly to shortcomings and omissions in their work. Journalists should devote more attention to questions of social justice and the legal protection of citizens. Unfortunately, few journalistic articles today contain an in-depth analysis, generalizations, or a detailed investigation of serious problems. The subject of crime among young people also remains outside journalists' field of vision.

It was also pointed out that, while criticizing particular aspects of the law enforcement organs' activities, it is also necessary to cover positive aspects of their work and to generalize and disseminate the positive experience that exists.

Journalists' questions were answered at the briefing.

Turkmen Riots, Hooliganismm, Corruption Detailed

PM1205121589 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 89 p 4

[Correspondent A. Bushev report: "And in the Morning Prices Went Up"]

[Text] Turkmenia—This was preceded by disturbances organized by a group of aggressive people at a market in Nebit-Dag on the night of 9-10 May.

Just 2 weeks ago, you could have said without any qualms that Turkmenia was one of the quietest regions of our country. And suddenly an unexpected act of hooliganism by teenagers during the May Day celebrations in Ashkhabad (see KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, 3 May 1989), during which several cooperative and state trade and consumer services outlets were smashed up. And now there have been new acts of hooliganism, this time in the city of Nebit-Dag.

Your correspondent got through on the telephone to N.S. Radzhabov, chief of the Nebit-Dag City Internal Affairs Department.

"At 2130 hours on 9 May, some people began to gather in the city's central square. Soon the crowd had grown to about 250 people. On receiving notification of this, we went to the square and tried to make contact with the leaders of this noisy rabble. Nothing came of this. They were not interested in making contact. They voiced dissatisfaction with the work of enterprises in the services sphere and made arrogant demands of party, soviet, and law enforcement bodies. Cooperative activity was the main source of dissatisfaction among the crowd. Nationalist slogans were also shouted. After some time, the whole of this angry mass of people moved along the street in the direction of the city market.

"The first thing to go up in smoke was a cafe and ice cream parlor, which someone set alight. This was followed by a militia motorcycle that happened to catch their eye. We tried to calm people down, but they began to throw rocks at us. Rocks were also hurled at the fire engines which came to put out the blaze. The forces were not equally balanced. There is only one militia department in Nebit-Dag. We telephoned the republic's Internal Affairs Ministry (MVD) and our colleagues in the neighboring city. Until help arrived, we tried to somehow neutralize the thugs, who had split up for a serious purpose.

By that time, the main group had divided into two and both were working their way along the city streets, smashing and setting fire to cooperative cafes, stalls, and kiosks as they went along. A cooperative hairdressing salon was even smashed up. Several state-owned public catering enterprises also fell victim in the heat of the moment. A total of 29 different premises were damaged. The precise amount of damage done is being established. Two militia members were hospitalized and several people were injured.

Only at 0300 did the crowd begin to thin out. We arrested around 50 people. The ages of those involved in this night rampage range between 16 and 40. Most of them are Turkmen, but there are also some Azerbaijanis, Lezgins, and Kazakhs among them. The investigations administration of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) MVD has instituted criminal proceedings and an investigation is under way...." ... So, two rampages in succession.

It was mainly members of cooperatives who suffered at the hooligans' hands, but the crowd who smashed up the stalls were shouting nationalist slogans against people of Armenian nationality. Does this mean that the only members of cooperatives in Turkmenia are Armenians? Certainly not.

Since the May Day events, the markets in Ashkhabad have stood empty. Not only Armenian traders but also Tajiks and Uzbeks seem to have blown away in the wind. Members of cooperatives from other cities with their varied, brightly colored goods have also disappeared. Those "businessmen" who have remained at their stalls are in the minority and have raised their prices.

Shortly before this, the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondents' center in Ashkhabad received a letter from a group of private traders who had come from Tajikistan to sell fruit in the republic's capital. They complained about the scandalous disturbances in the Ashkhabad markets. But they also said this in their letter:

"... We would particularly like to talk about Turkmen cooperative workers who buy up agricultural produce from the population. As soon as they hear that someone has brought fruit to the market, they immediately rush up and ask in a familiar fashion: 'Well, how are things, brother? Are you not feeling tired from your journey? You shouldn't have strained yourself, carrying your goods from the station. You should have called us. We would have helped you.' But this is only the beginning. They then bring the weight of the whole cooperative to bear and say: 'Well then, brother, you sell us your load. It will be better for you. You can go home earlier. Your children are waiting. Your wife is waiting.... Just think about it.' If someone refuses to sell their goods wholesale (at a considerably lower price, naturally) they try to make them sell by using force."

These are the facts. Isn't this where we should be looking for the key to the "nationalist" demonstrations?

'Vremya' Accused of Disinformation on Tbilisi Deaths

PM1005120189 Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 29 Apr 89 p 4

[Interview with Irakliy Menagarishvili, Georgian minister of health, by correspondent Mikhail Dzhindzhikhashvili: "'No One Has the Right...'"—date and place not given]

[Text] A TASS report carried on the 26 April "Vremya" newscast caused general indignation in the republic. It claimed that autopsies on the bodies of those who perished on 9 April in Tbilisi had revealed that the cause of death were not chemical toxins.

In this connection a ZARYA VOSTOKA correspondent met Irakliy Menagarishvili, Georgian minister of health, and asked him to comment on this Central Television report.

[Menagarishvili] Let us put aside emotion and look at this report from the legal angle, so to speak. After all, we are all in favor of establishing a rule-of-law state. It has to be stated that no one had the right to make such a statement until specialists have reached a final cxonclusion.

[Dzhindzhikhashvili] Irakliy Afinogenovich, but perhaps certain information has leaked out?

[Menagarishvili] There is no such information. There is... Do not force me too to infringe the legal profession's ethics. I repeat, let us wait for the conclusion. However, it is possible to say one thing. "Vremya" made use of disinformation. Why? Who stands to gain from this? The answers to these questions are yet to be found.

[Dzhindzhikhashvili] How many people were affected by the "harmless" tear gas?

[Menagarishvili] More than 1,400 people turned to us for assistance. We were forced to hospitalize more than 300 of them. Doctors fought desperately for their lives and health. Unfortunately, we have still not been told the composition of the toxic chemical agents. We still have 167 people in the in-patient department. Two are in serious condition, but there is no longer any immediate threat to their lives.

[Dzhindzhikhashvili] As far as I know, a group of doctors from various medical centers in the country specializing in toxicology arrived in Tbilisi the day before yesterday.

[Menagarishvili] They are not just toxicologists. Seven specialists have arrived. They include Professor Grigoriy Avrutskiy, head of the All-Union Center for Mental Illnesses; Doctor of Medical Sciences Dzhano Dzhibladze, USSR Academy of Medical Sciences Neurology Scientific Research Institute staffer; Doctor of Medical Sciences Lidiya Kozlovskaya, All-Union Nephrological Center staffer; Doctor of Medical Sciences Aleksandr Nedostup, reader at the Moscow Sechenov Medical Institute faculty of internal medicine; Candidate of Medical Sciences Yuriy Ostapenko, junior member of the teaching staff at faculty of clinical toxicology of the Central Institute for Advanced Training of Physicians named for Lenin; Doctor Sergey Yushkov, toxicologist and resuscitation specialist at the republic paediatric toxicological center, and Aleksandr Nazarov, scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Medical Sciences All-Union Endocrinology Scientific Center.

In addition a group of military doctors specializing in toxicology arrived yesterday. All the necessary conditions for their work and an unbiased assessment of the causes which led to mass poisoning have been created for them. Let us wait for their conclusions. Only in this way will truth triumph. I would like to remind everybody that a painstaking, complex effort is under way to bring out the truth.

[Dzhindzhikhashvili] Irakliy Afinogenovich, but people are, nonetheless, waiting at least for some preliminary assessment...

[Menagarishvili] We have agreed that we will wait for the conclusion. I have already said everything that I can say in my statement on Georgian television, and in my interview to you. I can only repeat that the report carried on the "Vremya" newscast is disinformation. We do not know the origin of this report. We tried to establish the sources of this information, where it might have come from, but we did not succeed.

Kirzhiz Ideology Chief Expounds on Interethnicity

PM1005150189 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 30 Apr 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Zh.S. Saadanbekov, chief of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department, by SOVETTIK KYRGYZSTAN special correspondent E. Nurushev and KIRTAG special correspondent V. Verbkin: "To Mature Into the Ethics of Internationalism"; no date or place of interview given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] We are approaching the CPSU Central Committee plenum on questions of interethnic relations. Life has proved that mistakes in this sphere are fraught with grave consequences. Unless greater attention is paid to this most important sector of party political activity, it can hardly be expected to be successful. What approaches should be adopted toward various problems, what is the meaning of the internationalist world outlook under conditions of restructuring, to what extent do current social practices in the republic meet the requirements for genuine harmonization of national interests—these were the topics of a conversation between SOVETTIK KYRGYZSTAN special correspondent E. Nurushev and KIRTAG special correspondent V. Verbkin, and Zh. Saadanbekov, chief of the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee Ideological Department.

Question: Zhumagul Saadanbekovich, the development of national and international processes is by no means simple. Our readers' perceptions have been confused by the well-known events which have occurred in various regions in the country. And even in our republic there often develop arguments or debates on various problems of interethnic relations. A certain section of our readers is inclined to perceive their causes in the democratization of social life. What is the main avenue for ideological work and ideological education under these new conditions?

Answer: Yes indeed, now there is a great deal of talk, discussion, and argument about interethnic relations. Historians and philosophers, jurists and sociologists, writers and journalists, students and clergymen—they all produce countless versions of the national idea, patriotism, and internationalism. At times not only the broad strata of the working masses but even experienced specialists find it difficult to figure out where ignorance, speculation, and demagoguery end, and considered and scientifically substantiated statements begin. It is, however, incorrect to perceive in democratization the causes of such striking contrasts in positions and opinions, of national feelings sometimes "boiling over" into nationalist manifestations. All democratization has done is to create conditions for the vigorous manifestation of national processes, whereas the most deep-seated socioeconomic, historical, political, ecological, and other causes accumulated and gradually built up back in the stagnation period. Really, one cannot blame the physician for having discovered a suppurating abscess.

Explanation and persuasion, the winning over of public opinion, the attainment of a correct understanding by the masses of the genuine essence of national and international processes—this is one of the priority avenues of ideological work by the republic's party organizations today. Correct perception is the beginning of everything. B. Pascal, the great philosopher and mathematician of the past, brilliantly remarked: "Our entire worth lies in thought. Neither space nor time—which we cannot fill—elevate us; what elevates us are our thoughts. So let us learn to think correctly: This is the fundamental principle of morality." After all, many human misfortunes, conflicts, and quarrels, and individuals' moral decline, are due to incorrect perception of the essence of real problems in real life. It is lack of understanding that provides the breeding ground for the spread of the virus of false rumors and conjectures fanning diverse manifestations of chauvinism, nationalism, and other "isms."

Question: Could you cite specific examples from our republic's life in support of this thought of yours?

Answer: I could. For example, arguments are under way about the need to give the status of state language to the language of the people who have given their name to the republic. The point is that, as a result of past deviations from Lenin's nationalities and linguistic policy and practice, a literally "precrisis" situation developed in our own republic—as in many other republics—regarding the study and use of the Kirghiz language, especially by urban youth. This often leads to national nihilism, semilingualism or nonlingualism (instead of Russian-national bilingualism), inferiority complex, and so on. This is what gave rise to the demand to provide constitutional guarantees for the free development and equal use of the Kirghiz language.

But the opponents of this approach toward linguistic policy argue that this supposedly runs contrary to the principles of full equality of nations and their languages, creates privileges for the development of only the Kirghiz language, and damages interethnic relations. By way of confirmation, they usually refer to V.I. Lenin's pre-October stance on this question and draw improper analogies between the contemporary state of the question of state language in our country and that against which V.I. Lenin struggled so furiously and implacably in prerevolutionary Russia. After all, at that time both legislation and practice rigidly pursued a line of forcible, compulsory, and coercive implantation of the Russian language as the mandatory state language in all spheres, and of restrictions on and even prohibition of the use of other national languages, especially the languages of smaller peoples. This is what V.I. Lenin opposed, and it is evident from his specific statements and the general context of his works.

The tendency toward giving unjustified priority to the Kirghiz language is prevalent in the other side's positions. It is clearly impressed by the Estonian version of the Law on State Language, which shows traces of the idea of using the institution of linguistic restrictions to solve the problem of migration, to make access to the republic as a permanent place of residence more difficult for people of other nationalities, and so on.

And so these diametrically opposed points of view are circulating, exciting public opinion, inflaming passions, and often gaining the upper hand over sensibly tested positions, without receiving a clear-cut answer from competent persons.

Let us try to explain the origins of these opinions.

First, it is impossible to say that the problem of the state language is something new in the theory and practice of socialist building. Precedents for constitutionally enshrining the status of a state language are to be found in the history of not only many states in the world but also of our own country. For example, the 1925 Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Constitution says: "The Turkmen and Russian languages are deemed state languages of the Turkmen SSR." The constitutions of Transcaucasian republics adopted in 1978 deem their native languages to be state languages, and simultaneously provide guarantees for the equality of all other languages. In this way, the rights of the non-native-language-speaking population are not infringed. Consequently, there are no restrictions at all on the use of one's native language nor—and this is very important—on the use of the Russian language as a means of interethnic communication.

Second, it is worth reminding people that the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference already spoke out clearly and unambiguously on this matter. It was emphasized there that the most important principle of our multinational state is the free development and equal use of their native languages by all USSR citizens and the mastery of the Russian language, which has been voluntarily accepted by Soviet people as the means of interethnic communication. At the same time, it pointed out the need to show greater concern for the active use of national languages in various spheres of state, social, and cultural life, and to encourage the study of the language of the people whose name a republic bears by citizens of other nationalities living in its territory, primarily by children and young people. At the same time, the conference emphasized that none of this should be counterposed to the democratic principle of free choice of the language of tuition.

Question: Nonetheless, are you "for" or "against" the adoption of a Law on State Language?

Answer: Under the conditions of multinational Kirgizstan, the best possible solution to this question would be to give the status of state language to both the Kirghiz and the Russian languages. As far as the Kirghiz language is concerned, this has already been discussed, and hardly anyone today would doubt the need to take additional measures to guarantee its all-around development. The status of state language must also be granted to the Russian language, not only because it is the means of interethnic communication, but also because its study and use are deteriorating year by year in Kirghizia's rural regions, which are inhabited by over 80 percent of the population of the indigenous nationality. Knowledgeable people say that the middle and older generation of Kirghiz people had a much better mastery of the Russian language than the present generation. This is alarming. For the Kirghiz people, the Russian language is the main window opening onto the outside world. I think that not only every Kirghiz but also any resident of the republic of another nationality would be only grateful if the state were to guarantee the development of the Russian language.

A Law on State Languages, if it were given effective administrative levers, would be a good help in establishing real national-Russian bilingualism. Preconditions for the adoption of such a law are provided by the well known Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee resolution on the development of national-Russian bilingualism in the republic. Considerable work has already been done on its implementation. Favorable conditions for the free choice, development, and equal use of native languages by citizens are being consistently created in the course of the Central Committee resolution's implementation. Positive changes are taking place in the teaching of Kirghiz, Russian, and other languages in educational establishments. Of course, this has a favorable effect on the moral and psychological situation. Unfortunately, however, the Kirghiz Communist Party Central Committee resolution is not being sufficiently actively implemented. Existing opportunities for the development of bilingualism in the spheres of education and official business remain unutilized, as in the past. Simultaneous translation is being only slowly introduced in existing palaces and halls. No courses for the training of simultaneous translators have been organized in a single oblast or city, while courses for the training of Kirghiz language typists are available only in Naryn. Citizens' letters written in the Kirghiz language are often answered in Russian in the cities of Frunze and Tokmak and in several rayons in the Chuyskaya Valley. People are addressed only in Russian in the services sphere, especially in stores, savings banks, and at hairdressers. Bilingualism has still not been adopted in health care institutions, civil registry offices, in public transport, and airport, railroad, and motor transport terminals. In this context, if a Law on Languages is adopted, it will become necessary to provide a list of professions which require knowledge of the Kirghiz and Russian languages, proceeding of course from local conditions in every region.

And one more point. As a rule, on entering an institution, one does not see signs, citizens' reception timetables, notices, and other sources of information in both languages. Sundry instructions, rules, regulations, population center names, and inscriptions on monuments, commemorative plaques, and labels still appear only in the Russian language. The same applies to visual agitation. It may be lamentable, but it is nonetheless a fact: The most diligent in this regard are people in Naryn, where the population is almost 100 percent Kirghiz. Are all these problems insoluble? Is this the way to enhance the prestige of the native language? Of course, this is also a matter of serious shortcomings in work by our local ideological workers. But the handling of interethnic relations and the work on international education must not—as happened during the stagnation years—be limited to just the ideological sphere or be reduced to just the restructuring of awareness. Practice proves that many top leaders of oblasts, cities, and rayons are absolutely indifferent to this totally and utterly political sphere of their work and, in the belief that international education alone is capable of solving all problems of interethnic relations, they leave them entirely in the hands of ideology cadres. It is, however, beyond the ability of these cadres to solve the complex questions of material, technical, economic, and cadre support for ideological work.

Some people seriously suppose that the granting of the status of state language to a language will automatically guarantee its development. A law's viability and effectiveness can be achieved only through specific daily deeds to implement it. If a Law on State Languages is adopted, then it must effectively block all unscrupulous attempts to set languages in opposition to one another, it must ensure their equal coexistence, and—and this is the main point—it must be rigorously implemented. Otherwise, why bother breaking lances to no purpose?

Question: Of course, the achievement of real national-Russian bilingualism is an important factor in enhancing the culture of interethnic contacts. There are however, quite a few people of different nationalities who, while quite familiar with one another's languages, fail to achieve mutual understanding. They are obviously divided by something else. Are these and other aspects taken into account today in the course of the restructuring of ideological work?

Answer: To start with, it is much more important to talk about what unites people. Soviet people are rallied by great and cherished values like patriotism and internationalism, by the Marxist-Leninist ideology and world outlook. Despite our cruel self-flagellation and self-deprecation, these abiding values of socialism are proving their viability and immutability. The tragedy in Armenia proved our people's lively sense of friendship and how deep a part of us internationalism is.

Therefore people are often divided not by fundamental principles but by artificially created ideas and words, not by sacred feelings attained through suffering but by the forms in which these feelings are expressed—morals, details of daily life, tastes, and so on. These are sociopsychological phenomena based on the microlevel of interethnic relations in labor collectives, education establishments, transportation, stores, and other public places. It is here that we perceive instances where negative aspects of individual people's characters are extended to entire ethnic communities and, at the same time, various negative phenomena are attributed to aspects of national character.

Is there any need to prove that under these conditions, the prevalent feature of ideological work must be the category of measures which delicately consider and protect the honor, dignity, pride, and self-respect of every nation. At the risk of being accused of conservatism, let me say that, even in a period of such broad glasnost, the sphere of interethnic relations embraces quite a few zones which demand silence out of...social delicacy.

Unfortunately, some publications by scientists and material published by the mass media totally disregard the ethnic pluralism of the millions-strong audience which, as a mighty feedback channel, generates a multiplicity of ideas and opinions, feels pleased or indignant, and struggles and defends itself. I have here the book "Historians Answer Questions," recently published by a Moscow publishing house. Historian B. Zadarnovskiy, asked whether internationalism is not a factor which to a certain extent conditions the phenomenon of freeloading under conditions of a multinational socialist state, quite clumsily attempts to criticize a whole series of republics, including the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Turkmenia, and others. "Internationalism must not be turned into a system of one-sided interrepublican or state charity...," B. Zadarnovskiy lectures. It would not be worth paying so much attention had the author been alone in holding this view, but there are plenty of adherents of this idee fixe, of this economic paternalism.

Question: As a matter of fact, even in our republic one can often hear talk about "Who is feeding whom." What is your view?

Answer: Here, too, let us get it straight what is at issue. The label of freeloading is often clapped on republics which have a subsidized budget. For example, Kirghizia receives over R500 million in subsidies from union funds. This is associated with the huge proportion of the republic's production potential represented by the extractive and raw material sectors. According to economists' calculations, Kirghizia has an annual shortfall of tens and even hundreds of millions of rubles due to the incomplete processing and shipment of agricultural raw materials alone. Now, for example, over 63 percent of the total volume of scoured wool is shipped outside the republic. Hundreds of tonnes of Kirghiz fleeces are exported to Britain, Spain, and Italy. As a result of these sales we receive the miserably pitiful sum of R4.5 million. And yet the suits made from this wool there would be sold for R55.6 million. Economists' forecasts indicate that if wool were processed in the republic, the republic's income from this subsector alone could increase by R286 million already during the 13th 5-Year Plan period. But integration between republics has gone so far today that any disruption of it in the pursuit of local "advantage" could result in huge losses for every region and for the country as a whole. This cannot be done; it is not in the interests of internationalism.

The point is that today's prices ensure higher profitability for end products and lower profitability in raw materials extraction and the production of semiprocessed materials. This produces a concealed shift of part of the revenues from the extractive and agricultural industries to the processing industry. Price defects distort the true picture and have a pernicious effect on the economy as a whole. For example, our coal industry not only fails to create a single ruble's worth of national income, but actually reduces the total value created in other sectors of the national economy.

There are numerous paradoxes in the system for evaluating the economy of the agro-industrial complex. In 1988, budget subsidies to compensate for the difference between retail and purchasing prices and for differentiated price supplements amounted to R435 million, of which R31 million were in respect of meat and milk deliveries to all-union stocks. The result is that the more output is produced, the higher the amount of subsidies to the republic will be. According to specialists' calculations, compensation for the difference in prices of exported sugar and meat alone would make it possible to increase the republic's budget revenues by R148 million.

To continue. Over 30 percent of industrial output in Kirghizia is made up of output from enterprises of union importance. Last year they contributed only R19 million to the budgets of local soviets, against R315 million to the budgets of union ministries. Hence the inevitable subsidies.

As a matter of fact, none of this is news to anyone today; these problems are being studied and resolved in the process of the republic's transition to full economic accountability and self-financing. Something else is worrying: Once again the moral-psychological aspect of the question. When these matters are publicized at local level they generate a storm of negative reaction and consumerist conjectures like "Who is feeding whom," "Who is getting a free ride from whom," and so on and so forth, and provoke economic nationalism and chauvinism. The social nature of mass psychology is such that readers, especially all-union readers, instantly project a freeloading image on the people whose name is borne by the republic. Of course, freeloaders and parasites can be found among any people. But there is not and there cannot be a freeloading people or a parasite people. We consider that any ideological activity which peremptorily fans passions and revels in problems which divide rather than unite nations is impermissible and incompatible with the principles of internationalism.

Question: What, in your view, could be deemed the main element in mutual relations between people of different nationalities?

Answer: We all must mature into Lenin's ethics of internationalism. Lenin always placed the main emphasis in interethnic contacts on national self-criticism. Let us recall his words, full of courage and wisdom: "It is necessary to distinguish...between the nationalism of a large nation and the nationalism of a small nation. As regards the second nationalism, we nationals of a large nation have, in historical practice, almost always been guilty of an endless amount of coercion, and even more than that—without noticing it, we commit an endless number of acts of coercion and insults...therefore internationalism by...a so-called 'great' nation must consist not only of observing the formal equality of nations but also of an inequality ensuring that the large nation compensates for the inequality which actually prevails in life. Anyone who fails to understand this also fails to understand the really proletarian attitude toward the nationalities question." In other of his numerous articles and statements Vladimir Ilich, mercilessly criticizing the Great Russians, persistently demands of them mildness, tractability, delicacy, and caution regarding ethnic minorities. "...'Insulted' nationals are more sensitive than anything," Vladimir Ilich wrote, "to the sense of equality, to any breach of this equality—even though it might be due to carelessness or might take the form of a joke—to any breach of this equality by their proletarian comrades. This is why in such cases it is better to err on the side of tractability and mildness toward ethnic minorities rather than erring on the opposite side." As the architect of large-scale nationalities policy, Lenin was constantly guided by the imperatives of morality and humanity, and rigidly observed the ethics of internationalism.

The question is why we—representatives of an indigenous nationality, whether Communists or nonparty people, leaders or ordinary working people, scientists or cultural figures, journalists or students—do not follow Lenin's example, and slacken national self-criticism. If we look at our nation with—to use the words of the Russian thinker Chaadayev—open eyes and open ears, we will identify with an aching heart a mass of shortcomings in its deeds and its character. We are slow and inadequate in our thinking. We work poorly and sloppily, and it is largely due to this that we are below the average union levels in terms of many fundamental indicators of socioeconomic and cultural development. Many aspects of the national way of life, traditions, and customs deserve serious and outspoken self-criticism.

Instead of exercising national self-criticism, some people are today carried away by self-praise and self-adulation, and fan the national factor, something which is harmful and dangerous. A flowering tree would perish if its roots were dug up every day and admired: "Oh, what roots, oh, what a crown!"

Importance attaches today to forbearance, patience, and tolerance in interethnic relations. What is a national idea worth if it is glorified to the detriment of the friendship of peoples and the other great values of socialism? There are quite a few people who are ignorant and careless in interethnic contacts; their behavior is dominated by the morals of crows' settlements [reference to Ilf and Petrov's description of overcrowded housing in "The Golden Calf"] where everyone strives to spike his neighbor's soup with pins. It is the duty of every honest citizen to resolutely block such phenomena everywhere. Today, against the background of events in some of the country's regions, we realize more acutely than ever before the importance of moral values like magnanimity and charity, honor and conscience, compassion and responsiveness in interethnic relations. Our peoples are different but they all are endowed with these remarkable qualities. Is it not time for us to learn to apply them to a good purpose, to elevate every people by clearly revealing their virtues and rallying them around the ideas of restructuring?

Internationalism and the friendship of peoples are now undergoing the test of glasnost and freedom. Human nature is such that we sometimes forget about them, just as we forget about the air that we breathe. And yet that air also needs protection and concern.

Let us not dissipate the precious feeling of friendship and brotherhood of people; let us remember that our strength lies in cohesion and unity.

11 May Moldavian Communist Party Plenum Reported

LD1105170589 Moscow TASS in English 1616 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] Kishinev May 11 TASS—Openness and criticism were characteristic of a report and a debate at a plenum of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party that was held here today. The plenum discussed the socio-political situation in the republic and tasks of party organisations.

Noting some progress in Moldavia's economic development, Semen Grossu, first secretary of the Central Committee, who delivered the report, said it is yet early to speak of a stable tendency as the dynamics of changes in the economy and social development do not keep abreast of the demands of life. The causes for this lag are the shortcomings in the work of the party organisation, Bureau of the Central Committee of the Moldavian Communist Party, leaders at municipal and district level.

Defects in economic management, in the social area are aggravated by shortcomings in tackling matters of cultural development, Grossu went on to say. The consequences of distortions in the nationalities policy characteristic of the epoch of Stalinism and the stagnation period are felt most keenly.

The sound forces of society interested in solving accumulated problems intensified their activities in the new political situation. And this is a good thing. But there are forces that try to take advantage of discontent of people to further their ambitions. They assume heavy responsibility by instigating and directing some speeches and meetings that can degenerate into disturbances.

On behalf of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau, Grossu spoke about the need to grant the status of the official language to the Moldavian language. But he said this should be done without infringing the interests of people of other nationalities, living in Moldavia. The draft law on stage-by-stage introduction of the Latin script of the Moldavian language will soon be put to discussion.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee is prepared to support any constructive proposals of the public, Grossu said. But he made a call for rebuffing irresponsible speculations on emotions to which some leaders of informal associations resorted and which leads to the destabilisation of the situation. Power methods and confrontation is not our road, said the leader of the republican party organisation. Perestroyka means huge, but non-violent, transformations. The first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party dwelt also on other matters—the study of Moldavia's history, population migration, Moldavia's economic independence....

It was stated in speeches at the plenum and in the plenum's resolution that the party organisation, some leaders of Moldavia in a number of cases turned out to be unprepared to the development of democratic processes. The plenum outlined the ways of harmonising the social atmosphere, of the development of the economy, the cultural area, inter-ethnic relations.

Shevardnadze Views Current Foreign Policy Issues

18070259 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 18, 6-12 May 89 pp 1-2

[Text] **In response to numerous requests from readers, E. Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR minister of foreign affairs, answers questions from ARGUMENTY I FAKTY editors.**

Question. Eduard Amvosiyevich, we shall not try to hide the fact that everyone found your appointment to the position of foreign affairs minister to be quite unexpected. But now that we have concluded such important agreements as the Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missile Treaty, the Geneva agreement on Afghanistan, the Vienna Accord, and so forth, people both in the USSR and abroad have come to believe that our foreign policy is in reliable hands. How did you manage to grow into your new position?

Answer. First about the unexpectedness. There has never been anything more unexpected in my entire life than my appointment to the post of USSR minister of foreign affairs. This is how I responded to a similar question from one of your Western colleagues and this is how I am responding to you now.

Confession is not my best genre but still I shall say that I was deprived of peace and quiet for a long time. There were sleepless nights, "millions of torments," doubts, worries... In addition to everything else I had entered a collective of brilliant professionals (many I knew personally from previous meetings), bearers of immense knowledge and high culture. For me there was no secret about the range of attitudes waiting from me in the MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] and in the world of diplomacy in general: from skepticism and cautiousness to curiosity. And it was not difficult to guess what a difficult unseen and unheard test I would have to undergo for the people and for myself.

I was placated, true, by the fact that many eminent Soviet diplomats—both in Lenin's times and in our day—had come to this major foreign political department of the country just as green as I was.

But when thinking about this I am guided by the maxim: "Only a god can make a perfect pot every time." But this does not really do me any good. Do not consider me immodest, but, always placing the greatest demands on myself, I have always thought and still do think that this maxim is used most frequently by poor "potters" to make themselves feel better. No, an absolutely perfect pot can be made only by a god, in other words, a master, or to use modern terminology—a competent person, a high-class professional.

After all, all of us—the people of the country, the society—have suffered so much from lousy "potters."

In a word, I have striven and still strive to make a good pot. There were flaws at first, and there still are some even now. But if I end up with something good, it is the result not only of my ability to work and my persistence (during the first months I had to work 16-18 hours a day), but mainly the help of my colleagues and partners. From the deputy ministers to the interpreters, from the ambassadors to the advisers—everyone helped me without drawing attention to my mistakes and supported me in my successes without the notorious bureaucratic flattery.

I have derived a great deal from my colleagues who are foreign affairs ministers, both from the developed Western countries and the socialist countries.

Now about the "reliable hands" in which our foreign policy is held. Its tasks, basic directions, principles, strategy, and priorities are determined by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the general secretary himself. But our task—mine and that of the ministry as a whole—is not to be, shall we say, below the level of these requirements, to keep in line with the direction of the priorities, and to implement the foreign political strategy of the party and the state according to the principles of the creatively understood new thinking.

Question. The account of your speeches at the conference in the USSR MFA in May 1987 and at the scientific-practical conference in July 1988, published on the pages of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY evoked a good deal of interest among the readers. Many of them in their letters ask the question: What are the current criteria for selecting and placing personnel in the MFA staff and abroad? How much success have you had with the battle you began when you became foreign affairs minister against protectionism and nepotism, greed and narrow-minded attitudes?

Answer. One could give certain figures that might illustrate this "battle." I say "might" and I put the word "battle" in quotation marks quite advisedly. We very much abuse this actually strong term, using it both appropriately and inappropriately. We "battle" for clean streets, we "battle" for concluding a fishing convention, and for many other things.

It is dangerous to go to the extremes, and in the past this little respected condition most frequently in our country took the form of campaigns whose results were pathetic for the society. And last but not least, because we have always been waging a battle everywhere, and where there is a battle, a permanent state of war, there are always unjustified, pointless losses.

What does it mean, say, under the conditions of the MFA to have a "battle" against nepotism, which, of course, has put down deep roots here? Operating with the traditional "wide-sweep method," one can fill the work field with shoots of common sense and destroy entire dynasties of diplomats and renowned wits who have accumulated a good deal of experience. Is this efficient?

It is not nepotism in this understanding, it is not kinship as such to which we have thrown down the gauntlet, but to the principles and positions which result in giving priority and primacy to someone because of family relations or other ties. Everyone should be given a chance, above all people with talent and intellect, regardless of their origin, the social and job position of their parents, etc.

And from this standpoint the "battle" against protectionism and nepotism has been successful. We are affirming and defending the principle, not allowing anybody to violate it without making adjustments for rank and position.

Yes, we are very serious about the question of the purity of the diplomatic service, for in a department which represents the country there should not even be individual cases of deviations from the norms of professional ethics.

I am far from thinking that we have managed to clear out all the scum once and for all. But there is no doubt that the atmosphere in the ministry has become morally purer.

Question. What has been the largest achievement of your foreign policy during the time you have worked in the MFA?

Answer. My appointment to the MFA practically coincided with restructuring. And all the basic achievements of our foreign policy during the past 4 years have been a direct consequence and a product of restructuring.

The main thing, I think, is that in international affairs we have managed to break down the "confrontational tendency" and to change confrontation into dialogue. We have not worsened our relations with anyone, we have developed existing ones, and we have initiated new ones, as M.S. Gorbachev noted at the 19th CPSU Conference. Our relations with the surrounding world have become steadier and calmer, and this of course means a great deal, mainly that the threat of conflict and war has been pushed back. Our security has become stronger, and not because of new super efforts at "up-arming" but due to our correct policy. There has been a marked increase in the international prestige of our homeland, and there is now more confidence in our words and deeds. It is difficult to find a quantitative measurement for this achievement. But the change in quality can easily be felt by anyone who, say, visited the West 5 years ago and goes there again now.

Speaking of large achievements, I would name first of all the INF treaty you mentioned in your first question, the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, the results of the Vienna accord of the European countries, the United States, and Canada, the normalization of relations with China, and the establishment of principally new approaches to relations with socialist countries and developing states.

Question. Our readers in their letters sometimes express a fear: Are the Soviets not making too many concessions to the West? This pertains both to the areas you mentioned and to human rights, and, for example, such a measure as reductions in the Soviet Armed Forces.

Answer. It is incorrect and irrational to call acting on common sense a concession. And we are not making concessions to the West. We are acting in accordance with our own nature, the qualities organically inherent in socialism, and the needs for our own development. And this pertains to any sphere, whether it is civil law or disarmament.

The INF treaty removed from our borders American rockets which in literally a few minutes could fire directly at vitally important facilities on the territory of the USSR. Moreover, by getting rid of these rockets, we are getting rid of the need to spend money on maintaining the part of our nuclear arsenal that has been eliminated. And what might happen if we destroy more rockets than the Americans do? We have put more of them in place, so let us remove more of them. The main thing is that we will be better off.

In general I should note in passing that the category of the power and security of the state under modern conditions is something entirely different from what it was during the thirties when we sang: "The Red Army is stronger than all." Can a state be strong and secure when its economy fails, fundamental sciences are in a state of stagnation, agriculture can in no way get on its feet, and the citizens are suffering from a shortage of literally everything?

And Afghanistan?

The Geneva agreements are essentially an obstacle on the path to thousands of deaths for our country. They mean sharply increased confidence in the Soviet Union throughout the world. Finally, they mean an additional chance for the Afghans to solve their own internal problems.

We have done everything we could so that there would be no bloodshed after our departure from Afghanistan, and we are doing everything possible so that it will hold its own...

And the Vienna meeting not only "launched" extremely important negotiations concerning transforming military complexes in Europe into defensive ones, but also gave an impetus to further development of diverse cooperation on the continent, and filled the "human measurement" of the general European process with new meaning. What concessions to the West can there be if during the course of the Vienna meeting we interpreted many human rights issues in a new way, which makes it possible for us to make more progress in this area in our own country?

Does it really matter to the West if the Soviet person enjoys the entire complex of freedoms that have come to be called human rights? This is mainly necessary for us, for our children, for our future, and for socialism. Without developed and guaranteed human rights there is not nor can there be any democracy or any rule-of-law state.

As concerns the reduction of our Armed Forces (by 12 percent) and military expenditures (by 14 percent), I do not think that what one might call the national economic aspect of the matter requires any comment. It is obvious. Just as the positive significance of this step for the prospects for disarmament negotiations is obvious. I shall note just one thing: these figures were not taken "out of thin air." They were the subject of repeated careful discussion in the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and the Defense Council. Having verified everything, we came to this conclusion: The country's defense capability will not suffer. If one must speak of a concession here, it is a "concession" to the standard of living of the Soviet people which, alas, is still not high, to public health (several billion additional rubles have been allotted for this), and to social security.

Question. You meet with many foreign leaders, ambassadors, and political figures. Which meeting, in your view, was the most difficult? What were the difficulties?

Answer. I am afraid that you will be disappointed, but in my mind they are not classified as difficult and not difficult.

There are, of course, random meetings that leave no impression. But these are very few. There are also those that have left an indelible mark on my memory and in our affairs. There are those that have brought joy and satisfaction. But there are also those that have left a feeling of disenchantment and dissatisfaction with myself.

During these almost 4 years there have been many meetings. During 1988 alone I visited 24 "points" on the globe and almost all of them produced results and contributed to restructuring. It is said of our diplomacy and foreign policy that they are more active than ever before. But a quite special occasion was the meeting between M. S. Gorbachev and President R. Reagan in Reykjavik, which I attended.

It was as though at that time we cracked open the door to nuclear peace and saw with our own eyes that it could become a reality. But at that time we did not manage to cross the threshold to enter into this peace. This was not our fault.

I left the private residence of Hjofdi shaken and, frankly, depressed by the negotiations that had taken place in the room. But at the same time there was the underlying feeling that this was a great event which would exert a radical influence on the course of world affairs.

I recall that when speaking to my colleagues, the ministers of the Warsaw Pact countries, in Bucharest the next day I said that this externally fruitless—at that moment, at least—meeting would give the world more than any formal agreement in the past had. And that is what happened.

A meeting that was personally difficult for me on a purely psychological plane was my first meeting with G. Schultz in Helsinki. My first meeting with the world of diplomacy in all respects. But at that time in those circumstances I did not feel that one needed to be a great diplomat to follow the thread from myself to my colleagues. In any situation one must not be haughty, one must not assume the posture of a great power. This always puts people off. And I said to George Schultz that if he had an immense amount of professional experience, I had behind me truth, historical truth. He smiled but said that he would not comment on that. The ice had been broken.

Mr. Schultz and I have developed very good working and personal relations. I have a feeling of great respect for him both as a person and as a state figure.

Each discussion is interesting and instructive in its own way. It is always a thrilling meeting of intellects—sometimes pointed, sometimes tense, sometimes filled with hidden currents. Each requires serious preparation. And each is subjected to internal analysis in which one takes not of the omissions and mistakes.

Question. After Afghanistan, which point in international policy is the most difficult today?

Answer. If we are speaking about regional situations, I would single out the Near East. Essentially at any moment dangerous, uncontrollable processes could break out there with serious consequences and prolonged complications for all international life.

Question. When speaking at the scientific-practical conference in the MFA in July of last year you spoke of "the economic cost of political decisions." In your opinion, what contribution to the improvement of the country's economy is made by the international agreements signed recently by the USSR?

Answer. When speaking of the economic cost of political decisions I had in mind something more than just economic advantage. In the times before restructuring "counting kopecks" when making decisions in the political area (I include defense issues here) was regarded as almost disgraceful. Foreign policy was like a thing unto itself, and economics... How could one sink into trivia when speaking about ideals and ideas, about the "big-time politics"? Actually the "residual principle" was in effect with respect to the entire national economy. The domestic civilian economy got what was left over after the foreign economic and defense measures were taken care of. We directly ignored the fact that in the international and defense spheres there could be things which our country simply could not afford. This undoubtedly played a role in the way our economy "reached such a life."

Now political decisions are weighed on the scale of the economy. I am convinced that this is the only way to harmonize all elements of our national power, our real power and not the false power from "songs"—foreign political, defense, and economic. And as a result we will become not weaker but stronger, both as a whole and with respect to each of these components.

Speaking about the contribution to our economy of concrete agreements signed in recent years, I would again mention the INF treaty, the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, and the normalization of relations with many countries. After all, for instance, nobody ever thought about how much the anomaly and the distortion of relations between between the Soviet Union and China cost the economies of these two great socialist countries.

And the last thing in regard to the answer to your question. The realization of one of the main principles of the policy of new thinking—the integration of the Soviet economy into the world economic system is intended to contribute to economic improvement.

Question. As a member of the Politburo do you have dealings with other ministries and departments besides the MFA?

Answer. As a member of the Politburo I participate in the discussion and resolution of all the most important questions of the country's domestic and foreign policies. But I am directly "in charge" only of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Believe me, this is enough.

Question. Many of our readers are asking: What is the diplomatic point of having one member of the Politburo or government accompany and meet another during trips abroad? Does this not take too much time from busy people?

Answer. This is a tradition, a custom. How good or bad they are and whether or not they should be abolished is another question. Sometimes we follow certain traditions without thinking about their expediency. As for me, my opinion, I would not be against retaining the current ritual of having officials meet and accompany one another only with respect to official foreign visits of the head of our state and the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Question. In the Soviet press there is now a popular column called "Political Portrait." But, unfortunately, they write mostly about leaders of other countries. In light of glasnost could you not tell us a little about your family and about how your work day is arranged? How much money do you make? What role does your wife play in your work?

Answer. The genre of a political portrait is a specific kind of information. Information and being informed is the foundation of glasnost. Glasnost is an indispensable part of democracy. And democracy, real democracy, requires a developed political culture.

A political portrait without political culture on the part of the writer (who takes and writes it down) and the reader (who sees and hears it) can degenerate into either a caricature or an icon. I am not speaking about the personal biases, sympathies, antipathies, and so forth of the author or his reader, viewer, or listener. I have in mind the degree of openness of the society in which the public will be able from the publications of the printed or electronic press to get a correct picture of the people to whom it entrusts the management of the state. In order to trust a person you must know him.

I think that we are proceeding toward this kind of knowledge.

Personally I think that the political portrait of one figure or another is formed from his political decisions, which are internal but are disclosed in his ideas, deeds, and actions. There are public statements, conversations, and interviews which, because of television, publicly present an idea of a person's general and special etiquette, his educational "baggage," his intellect, his character, his ability to present his ideas concisely and clearly, if, of course, he has any.

Do you need certain "warm" details which make a person more accessible, shall we say, to public perception? A knowledge of the facts and circumstances of his personal life? Well, does he have a wife and children? What about his apartment, his wages, his diversions? Help yourself! But without digging into his intimate life, without relishing the facts of his private life to which observers are so inclined.

I have no intention of keeping anything else a secret. My work day is arranged according to the work schedule of the Politburo, the activity of the MFA, and the specific foreign political situation. This averages 10-12 hours a day, including Saturday. Incidentally, all my colleagues in leadership work the same way. Sunday is left for creative work. This is my most fruitful day. I can read "non-job-related" literature and think and write about things. I have nothing to be proud of, alas... But so far this is the best I can do.

My family includes my wife, a journalist by trade, who until 1985 worked on a women's magazine; my daughter—a television editor; and my son—a scientific associate and a philosopher. There are the grandchildren, my son-in-law, and my daughter-in-law—a large, loving, and quite normal family. We are all close and think the same way. They are the support for my life.

My roots are in the country. My father was a teacher and director of a rural school, but I have spent most of my life in the city. I am a historian by education.

What role does my wife play in my work? There are norms and traditions that are generally accepted in the world, according to which the wives of state figures of high and low rank—heads of states and governments, ministers of foreign affairs—are assigned functions that are clearly defined by protocol and the rules of etiquette. Most frequently they have to be performed during official visits abroad or during meetings and receptions for high-ranking foreign guests. These are nobody's whim, I repeat, but international practice and the norm of behavior.

That is all, perhaps. Yes, you also asked about wages. I receive R1,200 a month.

Medvedev Addresses CPSU Media Conference

LD1505090589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[Text] A conference was held 12 May at the CPSU Central Committee, at which topical matters relating to the practical work of the mass media were discussed. Taking part were the heads of central information organs, ideological institutions and official departments, and also the heads of the ideological departments of the central committees of the Communist parties of the union republics, and certain CPSU kray and oblast committees. The conference was opened by A.S. Kapto, head of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department.

V.A. Medvedev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, delivered a report at the conference. Our society, the speaker said, is now at a peak of its political activity. The discussions surrounding the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum and its unprecedented decisions and trenchant evaluations have not yet died down, and there are less than 2 weeks to go before the USSR Congress of People's Deputies opens. This will be widely covered in the press and television and on the radio. The preparations for the CPSU Central Committee plenum on questions of interethnic relations is entering the final straight.

The recent elections have not merely stirred up life. They have politicized it to the utmost and introduced totally new political features into our real life.

The elections of USSR people's deputies were a nationwide referendum in support of the party and restructuring. But this support carries with it a critical note that is clearly expressed, including dissatisfaction with the rates, forms and methods of work, and, most importantly, with the genuine results of restructuring. We have reached a qualitatively new level of democracy that corresponds to the present-day notions of a socialist society. But all of this is taking place against the background of an aggravation of problems in the economic and social sphere, and of a recognized increase in interethnic tension.

It is not restructuring that has given rise to many problems. They have been accumulating over decades and now, under the conditions of glasnost and democratization they have been laid bare and have required solution.

The leadership of the party and the country is adopting measures to change the situation. A program has been worked out to improve financial and monetary circulation, which provides for serious steps to be taken to build up commodity resources and services for the population, to reduce the amount of construction work that has not been completed, to further reduce expenditures on administration, to correct foreign trade policy, and to make a major reduction in military expenditures.

Today the party is the guarantor that restructuring is irreversible and a most important factor in the consolidation of society, V.A. Medvedev noted. The CPSU consists of representatives of all social strata and of all nationaltiies. Departmental and regional bias are alien to it. Herein lies the truly unique role of the Leninist party, which is capable of integrating the aims of different groups of the population, of removing misunderstandings and disagreements, of moving into first place the interests of the whole people rather than private interests, and of actively conducting the search for nationwide consensus. In this respect there is now no alternative social force.

People with a restructuring mentality are being moved forward more and more actively into the foreground of party work. The demands placed upon these people are great, but they have to be helped. The press can do much to ensure that the kind of atmosphere is established in society in which people work more confidently and responsibly; and to ensure that glasnost is not turned into an opportunity for evening out old scores and leveling abuse at honest workers.

Practical issues in the work of the mass media were examined. It was noted that the press has never before been the kind of influential force that it is today.

This is reflected in the huge increase in print-runs and the enormous influence which the mass media has on public opinion, and through it on the situation throughout the country. The press, television, and radio have done a lot to develop democratization and glasnost, and the ever-increasing openness of our society—everything that is encompassed by the concept of restructuring in the spiritual and ideological sphere. At the same time, it is essential to make a careful analysis and to draw practical conclusions from the criticism that was laid at the door of the press at the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum. The press must also share responsibility for the state of affairs in society, and most do everything it possibly can for very rapid progress.

The press, radio, and television must objectively depict the socio-political and economic life of the country; and skillfully and precisely write the history of the present day. By virtue of the tasks they have been set, they should not merely reflect public opinion, but to a considerable extent should mold it. This is an extremely important function of the mass media. The molding of public opinion is a very potent lever of restructuring, and an essential component in the entire system of public management, particularly in the conditions of democratization and glasnost. Not even a moderately big issue in our life or moderately big decision by top bodies can nowadays be implemented without the creation of a suitable moral and psychological atmosphere, and without account being taken of how it will be perceived by the public.

The press should focus attention on the progress of economic and political reform, and the daily work of labor collectives, party, and public organizations. The economic processes occurring in society are not yet adequately reflected in the press.

The evaluations of the situation are not always well-weighed and objective, which means that a correct interpretation of what is happening in the economy is lacking. The party supports critical attitudes on the part of the press, but criticism should help to mobilize and dispose people to positive action.

The organizational role of the mass media is increasing substantially. New beginnings should be noticed and supported, and fuller illustration of front ranking experience and of the real achievements of restructuring should be ensured. The press has great potential for helping to get established those forms of ownership and management which are capable of yielding within a short time the maximum effect in increasing industrial and agricultural production and consumer goods. In all matters, the position of the mass media should help to consolidate society around the ideas and practical affairs of restructuring. The unprecedented public response to the spoken and written word also demands that a responsible attitude be taken toward it. Editorial collectives and their party organizations should enhance the competence and the practical and political qualities of journalistic cadres.

At the conference a number of aspects on the way the mass media reports on interethnic relations were touched upon. It was pointed out that a particularly careful and scrupulous attitude should be observed in this respect. Distortions and a subjective approach must be excluded, and a climate of mutual understanding and mutual responsibility must be formed.

An important role in enhancing the effectiveness of the work of the mass media belongs to the party committees. They are called upon to give greater attention to the work of the mass media. At times the output of the press, radio, and television does not meet with the reaction it merits.

At the same time, the press does not give in-depth coverage and interpretation of the process of restructuring, which is going on in the party and the activities of the party committees and their leaders.

The following spoke to the conference on specific aspects of the activities of the mass media, on existing problems and difficulties of the work of creative collectives, and on ways to enhance the effectiveness of the written word at the next stage of restructuring: I.D. Laptev, chief editor of IZVESTIYA; A.A. Ananyev, chief editor of OKTYABR; M.F. Nenashev, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade; I.M. Panov, chief editor of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA; V.I. Fedotova, chief editor of SOVETSKAYA ZHENSHCHINA; V.V. Chikin, chief editor of SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. Ye.V. Yakovlev, chief editor of MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI; R.A. Aliyev, head of the ideological department of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan Central Committee; A.Ya. Sukharev, USSR Procurator General; A.A. Prokhanov, chief editor of SOVETSKAYA LITERATURA; V.A. Fronin, chief editor of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

First Unofficial Variant on Press Law Published

18000959 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 May 89 p 2

[Article by Igor Gamayunov: "Right to an Alternative"]

[Text] For the first time, an initiative (that is, unofficial), authored [by specific individuals] draft law on the press has been published. This fact confirms that our social life has been enriched by a new democratic tradition. Several things about this fact are sensational, the main being that the alternative draft was published before the official one. Besides, the book (in the pocket-size format) produced by the "Yuridicheskaya Literatura" Publishing House was published at the expense of the authors of the draft. Moreover, while starting a new tradition with their action, the authors began to destroy the old one, that of anonymity of law creation. They stated their names—real names at that. I vouch for this, as I know all of them. These are young lawyers, candidates of juridical sciences Yu.M. Baturin, M.A. Fedotov, and V.L. Entin. They visited the editorial office, the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA reception room, several months ago. A report on the meeting was published on 18 January 1989 under the admittedly tendentious heading "Right to the Truth," because all participants in the debate agreed on the main point: The future Law on the Press should ensure the right to the truth (not only for journalists, but for all of us to a man!), no matter how difficult it is, that is, to provide one of the guarantees of restructuring.

So, here is the book, a one-of-a-kind publication, not only a unique fact, but a symbol of new approaches to creating the law. Yes, discussing draft laws has become a norm in our country. However, not one of the draft laws which have had the honor of being made public has had an alternative version. You could only try to improve them, rather than make a choice. This is the first point. Secondly, the drafts were anonymous. The collectives authoring draft laws sort of felt shy about stepping forward.

I called the authors of the book, and inquired about the outlay for the publication. The authors responded: the publishing house has not billed them yet, but they know that it will not be much over 300 rubles. The brochure costs 30 kopecks. The printing is 5,000 copies. Does that mean that a honorarium is in the cards? Turns out the answer is no. Not one copy will be sold, because the printing is tiny. The authors are sending their draft to people's deputies free of charge (this means 2,250 copies). After all, the deputies will be the ones to pass the Law on the Press. The authors will distribute the remaining copies to lawyers, legislators, and journalists. However, as I was told at the Board of the USSR Union of Journalists, there are more than 80,000 members in the Union of Journalists alone. How many copies of the book will they get? How will thousands of employees of the press and other mass media be able to compare the official draft to the alternative in the course of discussing it?

Ligachev Interviewed on Depletion of Aral Sea

LD1305175689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 13 May 89

[Interview with Ye. Ligachev, CPSU Central Committee secretary and chairman of Agrarian Policy Commission, by correspondent Ye. Sinitsyn in Uzbekistan; from the "Vremya" newscast; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev is continuing his stay in Uzbekistan:

[Correspondent Ye. Sinitsyn] Have you ever had the occasion to travel across the bottom of a sea? If blood fails to reach the heart via the blood vessels, it dies. Rivers are similar vessels. Water no longer enters the Aral Sea from the rivers Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya. But the Aral Sea has not died. It lives still. We are flying over it. This is a bitter truth. Once upon a time this was the bottom of the Aral, and not just once upon a time, during the 1970's.

We are flying in an Antonov aircraft. A little earlier an Mi-8 helicopter flew out from Nukus with one of our camermen on board. Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, with the leaders of Uzbekistan and specialists, discusses what they have seen. The sea's horizon has fallen by 13 meters. The surface area of the water has been reduced by one-third. Only 40 percent of the water remains. It has all been taken away for cotton from the rivers that flow down into the Aral. [video shows truck driving over the dried-up bed of the Aral Sea; then views of the sea through an aircraft window; Ligachev, Nishanov, and others on board helicopter over Aral Sea]

[Ligachev] They have plundered the Aral in the full meaning of the word. They have built an irrigation system, as far as I know, as far as I am able to judge with the knowledge that I have, which is of the very poorest kind, a system which is suffering the most colossal losses from evaporation, from seepage. They have invested enormous sums running into thousands of millions of rubles, you understand, and we are now starting to do the things that were being done in other countries 100 years ago. That is how it is. [video shows Ligachev addressing conference from platform] [end recording]

[Unidentified correspondent] A conference about progress in fulfilling a decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers on measures to improve the ecological situation in the Aral Sea region took place at the Karakalpak Oblast committee of the party. Taking part in it were representatives of the Central Asian republics, through the territory of which run the rivers Amu-Darya and Syr-Darya, together with the leaders of a number of union ministries and departments. The ulcers of this complex problem were revealed with utter frankness at the conference. There was discussion of how, indeed, the Aral Sea can be returned to life. [video shows participants in conference]

[Sinitsyn] How, then can one help a sea, help the land, help people? We have just seen a sad picture.

[Ligachev] Where is the solution? There is a solution. We now have a program, a decision for the rebirth of this natural complex, which has been set out in the decision of the party's Central Committee and the Council of Ministers adopted last year. Essentially, it was for this purpose that this large group of comrades, including Comrade Nishanov and Rafik Nishanovich, and I visited the Aral Sea, met with people and held a most important discussion involving leading workers from the center and from local organizations on the issue of how this program is being implemented. Of course the task that has been set is one of special complexity and importance. Generally speaking in the face of this misfortune that has taken place, as they say, we do have the possibility to regenerate, to recreate the whole enormous natural complex which has been crudely violated in ecological terms. I think that this experience, which is now being shaped here both in scientific and in practical terms, I think that it will be of value both for our own country and for the whole world in general. But a mass of measures that have been envisioned by the decision of the Central Committee and government are needed in order to regenerate this complex.

Having again discussed the state of affairs with regard to the work, and having done so on the spot, we have singled out several priority areas. The main area is the solution of social problems. Simple tasks have to be solved, but tasks that are extraordinarily important for people. First of all, high-quality drinking water must be provided. The entire social and cultural complex must be developed in every way possible: housing, schools, children's establishments, hospitals, clinics, in short, everything that is linked with improving the living environment, with improving the living and working conditions of people. That is the first point.

The second point is this: we consider that the capacities of the land-improvement and construction organizations here have to be built up considerably, for if that does not happen, then everything will turn out to be nothing more than bare appeals. Third, scientific research has to be accelerated, both at the center and locally, and a major special integrated scientific center must be created in Karakalpakiya, even bringing in, perhaps, a whole group of the country's eminent scientists, forming this center in cooperation with local scientific workers and developing scientific research. Of course it is extraordinarily important to carry out the radical reconstruction of the whole irrigation system of the Central Asian republics which is now swallowing up an enourmous quantity of water while inefficient use is being made of water resources. This is how I would put it: Work is being done. Work is being unfolded, but all the achievements of world science and technology have to be brought in here, in the sense of putting into operation in a proper fashion the technologies that are most effective and most sparing in their consumption of water.

Finally the last point, despite the complicated conditions of life and work, meetings with people and with the leaders of organizations who live and work around the Aral Sea have shown that people, I would say, are enduring all of this with steadfastness. And we have (?protected) them so their life will get better and they are very excited by the decisions that have been made by the Central Committee of the party and by the government. I think that this is of enourmous political meaning. In short, the task is to recreate this natural complex and create all the conditions for good life for the people. I think that this is in the spirit of humanity, in the spirit of socialism. This is what they deserve.

[Sinitsyn] In general terms we will save the Aral Sea. You do have that...

[Ligachev, interrupting] I do have that confidence, but work is needed that is very active and persistent, extending over many a long year.

[Sinitsyn] There is an Uzbek saying which runs: Only the dead are beyond rescue. The Aral Sea still lives. It is not too late to save it. [video shows Sinitsyn interviewing Ligachev outdoors]

Interethnic Prejudice, Strife 'Morally Unacceptable'
PM1205161189

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 12 May 1989 in its Second Edition carries on page 3 under the headline "The People Are Made Up of All Nations: Lawyer Comments on PRAVDA Mailbag" four readers' letters on the nationalities issue. The letter from V. Grigoryeva of Kaliningrad reads:

"My 85-year-old father lives in Riga. He is a war veteran and has been a party member for 60 years. My sister and her husband are also veterans; they have both worked at the VEF Plant for 30 years. Now they are always being called 'occupiers' and 'migrants,' and people are demanding that they sign some kind of list. They are very hurt by all this because of the offense and their helplessness. In what way are they to blame?

"My sister got sick and her blood pressure rose because of this. She was hospitalized. But before treating her the doctor asked: 'Do you belong to any front?'

"Now it is said that nationalities issues should be resolved slowly and cogently. That is probably right. But nobody should be allowed during this period to belittle people who have lived and worked their whole lives in the Land of the Soviets. If there have been mistakes and distortions, why should these people have to pay for them?"

A letter from student V. Nikulin of Tyumen complains about having to pay customs duty on a purchase made in the Baltic. The letter from A. Musalov of Kharkov worries about the Soviet Union's reverting to the "situation in 1240, when the country was divided into separate kingdoms." The letter from Natan F. of Rostov-na-Donu reads:

"Our family has suffered a great sorrow: We have lost one of our loved ones. And it happened because of anti-Semitism.

"Our grandmother had a hard life: She had five children. Her eldest son was lost at the front. Her husband returned wounded and died young. So she brought the kids up herself. And now, because she wanted to let a pregnant woman go ahead of her in a waiting line, she was bawled out by some hooligans. They called her all the names that virulent anti-Semites 'confer' on Jews. The old lady came home in tears, lay down, and died soon after.

"We had long forgotten that we were Jewish, but now we are clearly being made to understand what's what. How can we continue living after this? This is our motherland. Where are we to go if we were born Jews? I am too sad and bitter to write more. I cannot give my name. Fear has come into my heart."

The letters are accompanied by the following commentary by Candidate of Juridical Sciences M. Puchkova, senior scientific staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the State and the Law:

"Each incident mentioned by the letter-writers naturally needs to be checked. But it must be admitted that glasnost is today making public many cases of citizens' rights being violated on ethnic grounds. There is by no means documentary confirmation of every case, but each case may make a profound impression on the people involved, harm their memories for a long time, and affect the atmosphere of mutual relations in society. That is why today's letters are not documents to be investigated but a reason for an urgent discussion.

"Of course, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, 'direct or indirect infringement of rights of any kind, the establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on racial or ethnic grounds, or any preaching of racial or ethnic exclusivity, or enmity or disdain are punishable by law.' Similar articles are to be found in the constitutions of all-union and autonomous republics. However, life shows that we have long been deluding ourselves. We declared the 'nationalities question' to have been resolved and put forward the myth that there was a complete absence of conflict in the sphere of interethnic relations in the USSR.

"Restructuring has revealed the need to increase protection for citizens' rights in the face of violations on ethnic grounds—a need reflected in the 8 April 1989 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree 'On Changes and Amendments to the USSR Law "On Criminal Responsibility for State Crimes."'

"Article 11 of the existing USSR law of 25 December 1958 'On Criminal Responsibility for State Crimes' states that 'propaganda or agitation aimed at sowing racial or ethnic hostility or discord, the direct or indirect infringement of rights, or the establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on the basis of their race or nationality shall be punishable by imprisonment of between 6 months to 3 years or by exile for 2-5 years.' First, under the new decree the concept of the range of actions incurring criminal liability has been clarified and expanded. After all, 'propaganda' and 'agitation' are too general as concepts. Now it is clearly stated that criminal liability will only be incurred for 'deliberate actions.' The highlighting as separate crimes in Article 11, part 2 of deliberate actions involving violence or threats, as well as the commission of such actions by officials is also new.

"Second, the decree makes special provision for liability for committing the same actions under specific aggravating circumstances: that is, actions committed by a group of people, or actions that lead to deaths or other serious consequences.

"The decree also makes changes and amendments to criminal punishments. Exile for 2-5 years is ruled out. (It had not been used in recent years anyway.) A new criminal punishment is introduced—monetary fines.

"Union republic supreme soviet presidiums, as is well known, have been instructed to make the corresponding changes to their criminal codes, and preparatory work on this is already under way in a number of republics.

"But we should also bear in mind other forms of protecting people's ethnic dignity. For instance, the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions of 5 December 1988 'On Blatant Violations of Citizens' Constitutional Rights in the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and the Armenian SSR directly state that leaders of enterprises, institutions, and organizations as well as party and state organs who allow citizens to be illegally dismissed on ethnic grounds should incur personal liability up to and including expulsion from the party and removal from their posts. In his 27 April 1989 speech at the CPSU Central Committee plenum A. Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, reported that the republic's communists had made a principled assessment of the actions of officials who had discriminated against and dismissed people on ethnic grounds.

"But a punishment is only a punishment. How are people to act if their rights are being violated on ethnic grounds? Under Article 57 of the USSR Constitution and corresponding articles of union and autonomous republic constitutions, citizens can make use of their right to legal protection against infringements of their honor and dignity, their lives and health, or their personal freedom and property. They may submit statements to the courts, the prosecutor's office, and Ministry of Internal Affairs organs. Unfortunately, matters are often complicated by the fact that infringements of ethnic dignity occur most often in everyday situations, and, as has already been said, witnesses cannot always be found in such cases.

"As for actions by officials, legislation lays down two procedures under which appeals may be lodged. The first is the administrative procedure defined by the 12 April 1968 USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree 'On the Procedure for Examining Proposals, Statements, and Complaints from Citizens' (as amended by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree of 4 March 1980). In this case complaints are lodged with the organs or officials to which the state or public organs, enterprises, institutions, organizations, or officials against which the complaint is being made are subordinate. The other procedure is a judicial procedure. It is laid down by the USSR law of 30 June 1987 'On the Procedure for Making Court Appeals Against Illegal Actions by Officials Infringing Citizens' Rights.'

"Court appeals may also be lodged directly against certain decisions by collegial state organs which have violated citizens' rights—not least on ethnic grounds. For instance, under Article 220 of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Code on Labor Law (and corresponding articles of other union republics' codes on labor law) workers and employees are entitled to appeal to the court against administration or trade union committee decisions on dismissal or changes to the formula covering reasons for dismissal.

"Under present-day conditions it is necessary, in my view, to further improve the legislation ensuring equal rights for citizens of different nationalities. It would be expedient to envisage liability under civil and administrative law as well as criminal law. But equal rights can hardly be ensured by legal means alone. We need a range of economic and political measures. And the whole way of life of Soviet people—the improvement of overall cultural standards and the education of children in families, schools, and institutions in a spirit of internationalism—should promote the assertion of people's ethnic dignity. Any actions that divide nations and ethnic groups, and any attempts to infringe on the rights of citizens of any nationality, should be seen as morally unacceptable and as contravening the Soviet state's interests. It is a matter of public honor to create in our country a moral climate in which people would refuse even to shake hands with those who sully themselves with racial prejudice or chauvinism. The 19th All-Union Party Conference resolution 'On Interethnic Relations' notes that we should create a social atmosphere in which people of all nationalities feel at home in any part of our socialist motherland."

'Criminals' Take Hostages, Attempt Escape, Fail

LD1205163189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1515 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 12 May (TASS)—A group of dangerous criminals were rendered harmless by the Soviet law and order bodies.

On the afternoon of 10 May, four particularly dangerous criminals who were being held for investigation in the solitary confinement block of the Saratov internal affairs administration, threatening to use homemade steel weapons, took two guards hostage in the confinement block during the exercise period. They seized the keys of a number of cells, took two juveniles who were under investigation as further hostages, and issued the following demands: weapons, bulletproof vests, a large sum of money, and the opportunity to depart the oblast without hindrance.

After their demands were partially met, the criminals, together with their hostages, left the remand confinement block and went into the town, where they seized a car and tried to escape, opening fire on a car accompanying them.

Along the way, they seized a shop assistant they came across on the way who was a witness in the case of one of the criminals. They also seized Mr and Mrs Prosvirinyy and their 2-year-old daughter, who are local inhabitants. The criminals and their hostages arrived at Mr and Mrs Prosvirinyy's apartment near Saratov airport, where they were surrounded.

During negotiations with the representatives of the law enforcement bodies, the criminals demanded that they be given a plane, as well as vodka, drugs, and a larger sum of money, threatening that if these demands were not met, they would use violence against the hostages, one after the other.

An operational headquarters was set up at the USSR State Security Committee which was headed by Colonel General Geniy Ageyev, deputy chairman of the committee. A SWAT team was sent urgently to Saratov. Forseeing the possibility that the flat would be stormed, the criminals barricaded the entrance door and tied the female owner of the flat and her daughter to it.

Frequent attempts in the course of 24 hours to persuade the bandits to give up their criminal plans proved futile. Moreover, in order to put pressure on the authorities, the criminals began to torture the female official of the remand confinement block in a sadistic manner over the night of 12 May, and threatened to throw a 2-year-old girl from the third floor.

At 0300 the decision was made by the operational headquarters to carry out an operation to render the criminals harmless. A group of KGB officers burst into the apartment and disarmed the bandits. None of the hostages or SWAT team members suffered. The tortured female officer of the remand consignment block was hospitalized. All the bandits were captured alive.

An investigation is being carried out into this case.

Transport Ship Hits Bridge, Sinks in Arkhangelsk

LD1005110489 Moscow TASS in English 1031 GMT 10 May 89

[Text] Arkhangelsk May 10 TASS—The 1,800-tonne transport vessel "Spartak", of the northern shipping company, sank when leaving port here on Monday evening.

The vessel was leaving Arkhangelsk bound for the port of Mezen on the White Sea, when it was driven by strong currents into a support for a bridge which is under construction. The vessel was holed and sank after ten minutes to a depth of 12-1/2 meters with more than 1,000 tonnes of combined fodder and building materials on board.

There were 25 people on board at the time of the accident. Twenty-three members of the crew were saved while the fate of two others is unknown. A search for them is continuing.

An inquiry has been set up into the accident.

Airplane Dropping May Day Leaflets Crashes; 5 Dead

PM0905095189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Tragedy in the Air"]

[Text] Sechenovo (Gorkiy Oblast), 3 May—The festive May Day rally in the ancient village of Sechenovo, Gorkiy Oblast, was interrupted by a deafening explosion—an AN-2 aircraft dropping leaflets onto the square had hit a tree during a maneuver and broken up. Three crew members and two passengers, who had asked for a "spin," were killed.

The aircraft was normally used in crop-spraying operations, but before the holiday the rayon leadership had asked the pilots to drop some leaflets during a flight. A special commission set up by the Ministry of Civil Aviation now has to ascertain whether it was an authorized flight or a spontaneous local action.

Children Infected With AIDS in Volgograd

18000988 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 May 89 p 1

[Report by N. Kiselev (Volgograd)]

[Text] **A nonchildhood disease is threatening Volgograd children. The AIDS virus has been discovered in dozens of children.**

The little girl had not even gotten used to living; she lay dying quietly, submissively. Still just a baby.

"Is it AIDS?" I asked the doctor.

"So it seems," he answered. "We shall know everything exactly when the results of the blood analysis come from Moscow...."

That was in February. Then the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA correspondents' center in Volgograd received a letter signed by the Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] organizations of five Volgograd VUZ's [higher educational institutions]. They wrote: "We were taught that the only privileged class in our country is the children. We believed this. And suddenly you could have knocked us down with a feather: In terms of child mortality, it turns out that the situation is better even in some developing countries than it is here. Do we really give all our best to the children?..."

The only specialized children's hospital in the city has been housed for 30 years now in an old former school building. The wards in it are like pencil boxes: narrow, crowded, and dark. In many there are 10-12 beds. In places the plaster has fallen off, leaving bare the decrepit flesh of the bearing walls. The cracked window glass is held together with strips of paper.

Here are the facts and figures given to me by the Volgograd Medical Institute.

During the past 32 years only one standard children's hospital has been constructed in Volgograd. It can accommodate 120. Half of the existing children's in-patient facilities in the oblast are located in made-over premises: in violation of all the rules, children's hospital No 2 is located in the building of a former tuberculosis hospital, and the oblast children's hospital is located in a dilapidated old building of a cancer treatment facility. The space per child in children's medical facilities of the oblast is less than the standard norm by a factor of almost 2.

Sometimes the children enter the hospital with one disease and while they are there become infected with another. And sometimes they die....

What were the students suggesting? The very first and easiest step toward improvement of the disastrous situation of the child health protection system should be, in their opinion, the transfer of the children to one of the special hospitals.

But then the newspapers brought some alarming news: In neighboring Elista, in the republic children's hospital, they discovered children infected with the human immune deficiency virus. The Kalmyk sorrow resounded in Volgograd with the echo of alarming conjectures and presuppositions: Soon this disaster could be repeated here!

These alarm signals were not without justification. At a press conference in Elista, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] deputy minister of health, E.A. Nogovitsyna, confirmed: There are children carrying the AIDS virus being treated in Volgograd hospitals.

Finding no support for their suggestions from the local authorities and though having a premonition of evil, the students of the polytechnical institute went out into the streets. With placards—they were no longer requesting and suggesting, but demanding.

Alas, their worst expectations came true. The AIDS virus was discovered in 10 children who were in hospital No 7 for treatment during February through April.

An authorized commission is working in the oblast.

Everything is clear: a chain is only as strong as its weakest link. In the place where they were lapsed into slogan euphoria over "the only privileged class," they did not want to hear anything about the advancing disaster. And as a result children are suffering. Children who have not yet gotten used to living....

Economic

Leadership Assesses 22 Apr Unpaid Labor Day

LD1205132189 Moscow TASS in English 1237 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 12 TASS—The results of the April 22nd, 1989, All-Union Communist Subbotnik (a day of voluntary unpaid labour) have been summed up by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the Central Council of Trade Unions of the USSR (AUCCTU) and the Central Committee of the YCL [Youth Communist League].

The communique issued here today says that more than 152 million people had taken part in the subbotnik. They either did their regular jobs or were used on different public works.

According to preliminary data, almost 1.2 billion roubles worth of manufactured goods were turned out that day. 453 million roubles worth of consumer goods were manufactured, including 116 million roubles worth of foodstuffs and 337 million roubles worth of non-edible goods. The subbotnik participants earned 291 million roubles.

The Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, the Council of Ministers of the USSR, the AUCCTU and the Central Committee of the YCL have expressed gratitude to all those who took an active part in the All-Union Communist subbotnik for their hard work, voluntary contribution to the cause of perestroika, to the strengthening of the country's national economy.

The means, earned at the subbotnik, remain completely at the disposal of the republics, territories and regions. They will be used primarily to build up and strengthen the material foundation of public health services, to improve the maternity and child protection system.

Academician Shatalin Discusses Economic Science

18000933 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[Article by Academician T. Shatalin: "Let Us Not Read Tea Leaves"]

[Text] **On 18 February 1989, PRAVDA carried the article by A. Chekalin "Reading Tea Leaves...Why Does the Advice of Scientists-Economists Often Happen To Be Erroneous?" in the column "Discussion Tribune." The author criticized sharply, in a polemical form, the shortcomings in the course of preparing some decisions on the issues of economic development.**

The same idea was clearly expressed in the materials of the recent April plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. In his closing statement at the plenum, M. S. Gorbachev observed: "We operated within the framework of the administrative system for so many years that in our country not only practice but even science turned out to be helpless, unable to immediately offer the drafts needed and measures which would help us create the mechanisms needed, and would ensure a transition to efficient operations."

PRAVDA has received many responses to the A. Chekalin articles. Today, PRAVDA is publishing in the same column the article by Academician S. Shatalin "Let Us Not Read Tea Leaves" along with rejoinders by other authors.

Having read the article by A. Chekalin "Reading Tea Leaves...Why Does the Advice of Scientists-Economists Often Happen To Be Erroneous?" (18 February 1989), I cannot but rise to the defense of the honor of economic science, my honor as a scientist-economist, and, finally, the honor of a Russian intellectual. My desire became still more resolute after reading an article by Academician V. Semenikhin (PRAVDA, 10 April), but this is another topic.

A. Chekalin maintains that the control of incomes has been relaxed, and billions of extra rubles have appeared in the pockets of people and in enterprises. "The control was relaxed not without some prompting on the part of economic science. For example, at a meeting of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers in July 1988, when cooperative operators and academicians, in what we might call a joint assault formation, attacked the minister of finance who proposed to introduce a so-called progressive scale of taxation. They adduced the following argument: Supposedly, if we tax the 1,001st ruble of salaries and up at higher than 3 percent, cooperative operators would quit.... At present, the national economy, thrown even further off balance, is reaping the fruit of this light-hearted recommendation by scientists."

Can A. Chekalin quote another case when income control was relaxed on the urging of scientists? He cannot, because there have been no such real cases.

Now let us imagine that the progressive tax (as the author puts it, the so-called progressive tax scale) on the wages of cooperative members had been introduced. In this case, the state budget would have taken in about R0.5 billion. Now let us quote several statistics. The output of cooperatives in 1988 amounted to about R4 billion, out of which salaries accounted for 2.2 billion. In 1988, the remuneration fund amounted to approximately R331.0 billion; the amount of currency savings by the populace in the establishments of the USSR Savings Bank—R297.5 billion (without bonds and personal insurance policies) plus dozens of billions of rubles "in the mattress." The volume of retirement and welfare benefits, and scholarships came to R69.6 billion (in 1987), sales—R365.7 billion, trade by collective farms—about R10 billion, and paid services—R61,8 billion. In 1988, monetary income of the populace increased by R38.5 billion. In the opinion of specialists, pent-up demand equals approximately R65-80 billion. Thus, was the national economy thrown even further off balance due to the failure to introduce progressive taxation of the salaries of cooperative members? I think one does not have to be either an economist or a journalist in order to understand how ridiculous this statement is. To be sure, the Pacific Ocean does consist of drops of water, but a drop does not make an ocean.

The statement by the author that someone could have assumed that cooperative members quit if more than 3 percent were to be withheld from salaries over R1,001 appears to be equally groundless. Could at least one of the academicians known to A. Chekalin have reasoned that way? If 4 percent (this is more than 3 percent) were to be withheld from cooperative members' salaries of between R1,001 and R1,100, they would not only not quit, but would draw hundreds of thousands, millions of people into the cooperative sector. A. Chekalin has no regard for either academicians or cooperative members.

Cooperatives are not to blame for the fact that at present they operate in the environment of abnormal taxation of their income, abnormal taxation of the wages of cooperative members, in the environment of awkwardness and inefficiency in the state sector. They say that the operational conditions for cooperatives and enterprises of the state sector should be made equal. To my mind, this is correct. However, the equalization should be performed so as the rights of cooperatives would be increasingly given to enterprises in the state sector rather than the other way around.

A. Chekalin complains about not one "science person" showing why the commissioning of fixed assets per R1 of capital investment declined from 97 to 94 percent in the course of switching to settlements for the commercial product instead of the "gross product" in construction. I am asking a purely rhetorical question: Do people absolutely ignorant of economics work at the State Planning Committee, at the ministries, and in enterprises, people who cannot figure out on their own an issue that is elementary, who, as my late friend Academician A. I. Anchishkin used to say, cannot tell "national income" from "national composition?"

I am not going to dwell on the subject of the role of normative net (conventional net) product in the economic mechanism discussed by A. Chekalin. I will only say that an "ideal" system of statistics of economic accountability simply does not exist.

I agree with A. Chekalin: Statements that "economic accountability," "collective contract," "leasing" have been thought up by theoreticians-economists are a myth. However, A. Chekalin goes from one myth to the next when he assumes that in 1983, on the initiative of N. Travkin, V. Kolosov, and Ye. Klochkov, "the brigade was transformed into a mobile motorized equipment pool which began working on the principle of brigade contract. This **revolutionary** (emphasis added) step blazed the trail not only for the self-management of labor collectives but also for economic accountability and leasing as natural consequences of collective contracts."

It seems to me that F. Engels observed that the law of value had been at work for 7,000 years by then. On the basis of this, we may assume that even the Sumerians knew about economic accountability, collective contract, and leasing. The reference to Sumerians may give rise to doubts, but the following I vouch for: My grandfathers and grandmothers—simple illiterate Russian peasants who worked the land still under the Tsar, and later—definitely knew these categories. However, I believe that neither they nor professional economists knew, know, or will ever know that the creation of a motorized equipment pool has blazed "the trail not only for the self-management of labor collectives but also for economic accountability and leasing as **natural** (emphasis added) consequences of collective contracts." Never mind the October "coup d'etat," and the new economic policy; setting up motorized equipment pools and brigade contracts is the real revolution!

"At present, when the leadership of the country has said 'the sacred word' following practice, that is, endorsed the novelties, scientists began to make new forms of economic operation look scientific," writes A. Chekalin. "What if they stop marking time on the old beaten path of 'whatever you say, boss?' Then there is just one way open to scientists—to labor collectives." Why to "labor collectives?" Maybe it should be to labor camps right away? Less will have to be paid. I would very much like to know in which "labor collective" K. Marx wrote his famous "Capital," or could it be that "capitalist" F. Engels provided the information he needed? It is also interesting to find out in which "labor collective" one of the major economists of the West D.M. Keynes created the general theory of employment, interest and currency, invented the multiplier, and showed what effect demand is. In which "labor collective" did the American economist M. Friedman develop the monetary theory?...

A. Chekalin is troubled by one more problem: "How should the spare money be expropriated (and at the same time the channels for its influx to economic circulation in the future be shut off)? 'Mum over it!' (in general, you say 'keep mum about it' in proper Russian)—the economists who fancy themselves writers shrug off the thought of a monetary reform, that is, a non-equivalent (over a certain sum) exchange of the old money into the new. Supposedly, it may bring about extremely unfavorable social consequences. Which consequences? What will an honest worker, collective farmer, engineer, or manager lose due to the non-equivalent exchange? Or what will an honest enterprise lose? (An enterprise has got nothing to do with this). They will lose nothing. They can suffer who have pilfered or illicitly made on the side tens of thousands and millions; should we have their interests at heart, however?!"

So, who is going to set the size of the sum above which the exchange of the old currency into the new one is going to be non-equivalent? The militia? The Ministry of Internal Affairs? The Committee for State Security? The USSR State Planning Committee? The Ministry of Finance? The Council of Ministers of the USSR? The CPSU Central Committee? Chekalin? Responding to the questions of a correspondent of the bulletin ARGUMENTY I FAKTY (14 April 1989), Minister of Finance B. Gostev said (and rightly so) that conducting a monetary reform does not make sense.

Does A. Chekalin fail to understand that those who have pilfered and illicitly made on the side tens of thousands and millions of rubles (let us assume that we have proven this) are not economic idiots: They invested the money in real estate, jewels, paintings, and so forth long ago. So, are we to begin burning down dachas and ripping the jewelry off the owners? This has already been done. We know what this ended up being.

Now let us talk about the remuneration for scientists. Your author seems to be troubled greatly by the fact that the salaries have increased sharply; has this been deserved? This is not so, however. The salaries of institute directors (including institutes of the Academy of Sciences), their deputies, laboratory chiefs—of the people who are primarily the brain and the engine of the nation—have not been raised. Perhaps, the salaries of leading research associates have grown most "abruptly" (used to be R300, now it is 400). On the whole, what has been carried out amounts to feeble social charity rather than a wage increase. The starting salary of junior research associates, candidates of sciences (not only economic sciences) is R175. Filthy rich, are they not?

A. Chekalin asks pathetically: "A corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences charges R1,500 for a presentation before the staff of ministries which lasts one and a half hours—is that honest?" However, this is criminal libel, as has already been confirmed by respective documents. This is what President of the USSR Academy of Sciences Academician G. Marchuk wrote in his article " 'Foundation' of Progress" (PRAVDA, 7 March 1989): "In the course of restructuring in science, the principles of financial incentives for the work of scientists, of the entire social policy in the sphere of science should be profoundly revised. It is necessary to enhance the social standing, social and financial status of research associates, which have declined perceptibly in recent decades, and ensure a continuous influx of talented young people to science." I am sure that the USSR will never catch up with the United States, Japan, the FRG, or other developed countries in terms of the efficiency of production unless the current policy of remuneration for the work of scientists, especially in the sphere of fundamental research, is changed radically.

A. Chekalin rebukes scientists who propose to obtain loans in the West (Japan and South Korea are also the West), call for the yoke of debt, and misinform people.

Once again, it is hard to understand why A. Chekalin does not name names. Who does he mean? N. Shmelev? S. Shatalin? Yes, both N. Shmelev and I propose to obtain loans in the West, though we disagree on how to use them.

N. Shmelev defers to the major American economist, Nobel Prize winner V.V. Leontief who believes that loans in the amount of R30 to R40 billion could be obtained in the West for purchasing consumer goods. He also names the scientists who can show how Western credits are to be used most efficiently. I propose the following scenario for using foreign loans. A correspondent of the newspaper SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA (30 October 1988) was told at my institute: "I think [we should] bring ourselves to secure a loan in the West with which to purchase state-of-the-art technology, and build plants for the production of cars and household electronic appliances. To be sure, we can do a simpler thing—use the loan in its entirety to purchase goods. This will reduce tensions in the market for a while, but soon the shortages will again have us by the throat, we will need more goods, and so on, and so forth. We should definitely buy technology and up-to-date production facilities," and commission them as fast as possible. By the way, let me say that I am proposing to also import small-size [agricultural] implements which are vital to introducing new economic relations in rural areas. If the USSR imports "without much ado" grain, meat, and butter, we should not be miserly and fail to import drugs at the very least. We may also buy a little bit of consumer goods.

What about the debt dependency and misinforming people? If a radical economic reform based on a revolution in property relations, on a most profound democratization of our entire life, is to us simply a bluff, idle talk, opportunism, and cheating the people, then indeed imports (of both capital and goods) are going to be as helpful to our economy as closing the barn door after the horse gets out. Then our entire multitude should hold hands, and try to jump over the abyss in two jumps. However, what is going to come out of it?

Certainly, there still are many unresolved fundamental problems in the economic theory of socialism, in political economy. However, was our economic science empty-handed on the eve of restructuring? I do not agree with this. Let me mention only the main accomplishments of Soviet economic science during the period of stagnation. These are:

—substantiating the need for a full-fledged socialist market of the means of production and consumer items;

—proving that the efficient development of a planned economy is only possible on the basis of an organic combination of strategic centralized planning and genuine economic independence of primary economic elements, on the basis of combining the plan and the market, and substantiating the functions of both. The econometric school made a great contribution to solving these problems;

—proving the fact that prices, fees for the use of production resources, and other economic parameters may be obtained only as a result of a unified, systemic, and optimal approach to the planning of the national economy; proof of the need for prices based on the principle of determining the national economic efficiency of production, and maintaining the demand and supply of resources and products in balance, rather than on the cost-based principle;

—development of the economic and socioeconomic efficiency of utilizing production resources;

—substantiating the unsoundness of some so-called objective laws of development of the socialist economy (e.g., the law of preferential growth of Sector I of social production);

—proving the socioeconomic inefficiency of the residual principle of allocating resources for the development of the social sphere of the national economy; substantiating the need for calculating the volume of the gross national product and national income as the sum of products in the spheres of material and non-material production, products and services;

—development of econometric balance models (including models of intersectoral balances), optimization and other models, including models for national economic forecasting;

—work on the Comprehensive Program for Scientific-Technical Progress in the USSR about which they said at one of the CPSU congresses that it is impossible to manage the national economy without it;

—substantiating the need for restoring all forms of cooperatives (along with collective farms and consumer cooperatives), development of individual labor activities, pluralism of socialist ownership relations.

Evidence of the above may be found in published works. There is a lot of it in unpublished literature, too!

It is believed that only writers fought against the diversion of rivers from the north to the south, from Siberia to Central Asia. We are grateful to them, as they did a lot. What about the economists? Did they remain on the sidelines, and live in keeping with the principle "whatever you say, boss?" I am not talking only about the commission of Academician Yanshin, which, together with others, prevented the rivers from flowing from north to south. Scientists-economists have taken an honorable part in torpedoing "the project of the century," a transfer of some of the flow of Siberian rivers as well. If you do not trust me, it is your right. Ask about it N.I. Ryzhkov, who at the time was a CPSU Central Committee secretary, and took part in the "famous" meeting at the USSR State Planning Committee. Thus, Soviet economic science did not read the tea leaves. However, I do agree entirely with the now commonplace opinion that its development still lags far behind the world level. The issue of what is needed in order to overcome this gap calls for a most serious discussion.

In any society, different structures objectively perform specific functions in the development of the social organism. Let me only mention science. Science does not owe anybody anything. It has only one God—searching for the truth, accumulating knowledge. This is its social function. It can genuinely serve the people only in this manner. Science which can be switched to economic accountability is not science anymore (please understand that there is nothing insulting about this), but rather technical and technological infrastructure for transferring scientific know-how to social production. This is what we acutely need. However, it is high time to stop believing that the state "is a benefactor" for science and the scientists. This resembles the relations of "a kind lord" and his "serfs" much too much.

A. Chekalin should not be looking for a "scapegoat" (a goat can always be found). We should only look for the truth without panicking. This is the only manner in which we can solve the gravest socioeconomic and political problems of development of our country.

Reasons Cited for Shortages in Russian Republic

18000931 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
4 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by I. Khaustov, sector chief of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic People's Control Committee: "The Rural Store: Why Its Shelves Are Empty"]

[Text] There was a time when even city dwellers went to the country to buy deficit items from the rural cooperative store. But recently a labor veteran, a participant in the Great Patriotic War who lives in the village of Bolshoye Zasovo in Starorusskiy Rayon in Novgorod Oblast, upon meeting with the people's controllers who were checking on the condition of rural trade, said: "Our store has been closed for a half year; the nearest one is 4 km away. At home we have no salt, not to mention anything else. I cannot remember the last time a mobile store came here. Tell me, how are we supposed to live?" In the Russian Federation there are more than 70 villages that do not have permanent stores. There is an especially large number of them in the Non-Chernozem Zone. More than 10 million people live here. Consumers' cooperation must provide service for them.

For a number of years the central press and other mass media have repeatedly criticized the activity of consumers' cooperation, which is gradually becoming an appendage of state trade, has become bureaucratized, and has begun to forget about its initial functions—concern for the shareholders and rural workers—and has taken a course toward curtailing trade in rural areas.

All this has led to a pathetic result. The difference between the per capita retail commodity turnover for the urban and the rural population served by cooperatives in the Non-Chernozem Zone as a whole increased from R455 to R523 or by 15.5 percent. In Novgorod, Yaroslav, and certain other oblasts the difference is even greater. In the Non-Chernozem Zone as a whole the amount of the income of the rural population put into circulation by consumers' cooperation, according to expert evaluations, is less than 45 percent (income—R1,632; average value of goods sold to each—R732).

Goods are shipped in to rural stores, as a rule, arbitrarily, according to the residual principle—after the saturation of the retail network of the cities, without accounting for the number of population or the orders from the sellers. In many cases the people do not have a chance to acquire the elementary necessities which are available in the warehouses and bases of consumers' cooperation.

It is amazing how many people can still put up with this attitude toward them on the part of cooperators! For example, in the remote villages of Dubrovskiy Rayon in Bryansk Oblast for a number of years they have been selling the population only R170-180 worth of various food and nonfood commodities per capita, which are barely one-seventh the amount in the rayon center. Including one-half to one-third the amount of fish, vegetable oil, margarine, preserved fish, groats, bread, and pasta items.

In the store in the village of Unomer in Batetskiy Rayon in Novgorod Oblast, which serves residents of two villages (70 people) and is located 11 km away from the central farmstead and 32 km away from the rayon center, on the day of the inspection the shelves were completely empty. The salesperson, A. Semenova, said she does not understand why she should come to work every day because there is nothing to sell except for bread, which is shipped in twice a week. The orders sent to the raypo [head office of rayon consumers' union] regularly go unfilled. Nobody from the raypo leadership has been in the store for the past 3 years. In her words, they have not brought men's jackets to the store for 7 years and she cannot remember when they ever had men's socks. There are numerous examples like this.

Up to the present problems of normal supply of bread and bakery items for the population have not been solved in the majority of consumers' unions of the region. In Kaliningrad Oblast they complain about the lack of black bread in the stores, and in Novgorod Oblast, conversely, it is the lack of white bread that they complain about. The population is not satisfied with the regularity of the shipment of bread to the stores because it is basically delivered only every 1-2 days. Taking into account the fact that as a rule bread is bought from a rural store by residents of 2-3 villages, because of the failure to meet delivery schedules, people frequently have to spend 5-6 hours on this.

In consumers' cooperative stores in rural areas, including specialized ones, they have practically discontinued trade in nonfood commodities. The concentration of trade in the rayon centers has reached a point where the rural residents have no possibility of locally acquiring coats, rain coats, jackets, footwear (except for rubber), dresses, knitted items, goods from the children's assortment, electrical, and other goods.

The Starorusskiy raypo in Novgorod Oblast, which is responsible for service for 18,400 rural residents, sold about 70 percent of all industrial goods in the city of Staraya Russa (where there is state trade and the worker supply department of the Ministry of the Timber Industry), including more than 80 percent of the clothing, underwear, and knitted items, 87 percent of the footwear, and 97 percent of the head gear. They sold R19 worth of clothing and underwear per one resident, or one-fifth the amount sold in the city, and 3 kopeks' worth of head gear. What kind of trade service is this?

And this is not all. The matter is exacerbated by the fact that in keeping with decisions of the ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] councils of ministers and oblispolkoms [oblast executive committees], trade fairs for selling nonfood commodities in the cities and rayon centers have become a part of the system in consumers' cooperation. As a rule they send the best goods there. For example, more than 30 mobile stores from rayon consumer societies traveled hundreds of kilometers with industrial goods for the fair held at the central market in Novgorod last year. The carried imported and domestic footwear, clothing, hosiery, and haberdashery items, i.e., the things that are in such short supply in the rural stores.

During the past 2 years the councils of ministers of the autonomous republics and the oblispolkoms have been handling the distribution of goods from the retail commodity supply between state and cooperative trade. Here there is frequently a predisposition to encroach upon the interests of consumers' cooperation and hence the rural population as well. Last year for the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] as a whole market supplies of sewn items were increased by R148 million as compared to 1986. It would seem that the share for consumers' cooperation should increase as well. But the consumers' unions of the Non-Chernozem Zone received even R45 million less than before. There was a sharp reduction of the deliveries of purely agricultural goods to consumers' cooperation of the Non-Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR—felt slippers. This was especially noticeable in the Mary ASSR and Ryazan and Perm Oblasts. Consumers' unions of the region failed to receive more than R80 million worth of sugar, confectionery items, fish, canned fish and fruit, and other things.

In 1988 in the distribution of a number of goods of which Novgorod Oblast as a whole received more than in the preceding year, consumers' cooperation was allotted 14.4 percent fewer television sets, 14 percent fewer bicycles, 12 percent fewer motorcycles, and 11 percent fewer carpet items. Consumers cooperation received considerably fewer washing and sewing machines, refrigerators, fur items, and Zhiguli automobiles than it has in previous years. The situation was the same in 1987 when the oblast consumers' union received R4 million less goods from centralized funds. One asks: Where is the local authority here?

The weak material and technical base is still a significant factor that retards the development of trade in rural areas. In the majority of consumers' unions of the Non-Chernozem Zone the trade areas are considerably smaller than prescribed according to the normatives.

According to incomplete data, one-fourth of the 22,500 stores in rural areas are located in dilapidated and poorly adapted premises. In Perm Oblast these comprised more than 30 percent of the stores and in Ivanovo Oblast—up to 40 percent. In Nevelskiy Rayon in Pskov Oblast stores that are dilapidated and unsuitable for operation comprise 50 percent, in Zvenigovskiy and Yurinskiy Rayons in the Mary ASSR—up to 56 percent, and in Borskiy and Pervomayskiy Rayons in Gorkiy Oblast—up to 60 percent. Frequently the sales personnel refuse to work there.

The number of "goods in daily demand" stores, which are the main ones for the Non-Chernozem Zone, decreases from year to year. Since the beginning of the last 5-Year Plan their numbers have decreased by 2,390. In spite of this situation, neither the Russian Consumers' Union nor the local consumers' unions have yet developed comprehensive programs for new construction, reconstruction, and repair of the rural trade network. Recently the collective farms [kolkhozes] and state farms [sovkhozes] have significantly reduced their assistance in the construction of stores. The kolkhozes of Kaluga, Novgorod, and Ryazan Oblasts essentially constructed no trade facilities.

Rural trade stores are in an unsanitary condition practically everywhere. Sales floors are frequently transformed into storehouses for containers and are filled with garbage and spoiled fruit and vegetable products. Cooperative trade is especially poorly supplied with refrigeration equipment and spare parts for it. In Vologda Oblast during the inspection half of the refrigerators were not working because there were no spare parts for them. Two-thirds of the 32 food stores of the Arsenyevskiy raypo in Tula Oblast have none of this equipment at all. In the Ulyanovskiy and Kvastovichskiy raypos of Kaluga Oblast from 50 to 66 percent of the stores have no refrigerators.

But the question of questions for the Non-Chernozem Zone of the RSFSR is the organization of trade service for 2.3 million people who are living in towns and villages where there are no stores at all. As the inspection showed, thousands of residents—and these are mainly elderly people, veterans of labor and war—are not given proper attention because the schedules for the mobile stores are regularly not met.

The available fleet of mobile stores is used extremely poorly in many consumers' societies. Many of the vehicles are dismantled or are used for regular transportation for shipping cargo. Of the 4,034 mobile stores delivered to the consumers' unions of the Non-Chernozem Zone during the past 5 years only 2,400 are being used for their intended purpose. In Bryansk Oblast these figures are 56 of the 173, Yaroslav—40 of the 136, and the Mary ASSR—30 of the 94.

The Russian Consumers' Union also has a short-sighted policy with respect to this issue. When distributing supplies for mobile stores it does not take into account the specific features of the population distribution or the demographic and climatic conditions of the RSFSR Non-Chernozem Zone, and send the majority of machines to consumers' unions of the Central Chernozem, Volga Area, and North Caucasus economic regions where there are practically no population points without permanent stores. During the past 5 years the Rostov, Krasnodar, and Stavropol consumers' unions were allotted more than 600 mobile stores, or twice as many as there are in the khutors and stations that have no trade enterprises. At the same time the consumers unions of the Non-Chernozem Zone during this period were allotted only one mobile store for every 16 towns and villages. But even these mobile stores are provided with only 65-75 percent of the required gasoline.

All that we have seen and heard during the period of the inspection leaves an oppressive impression. One is simply struck by the inactivity and helplessness of consumers' cooperation. In order to change the situation, radical and immediate measures are needed both on the part of consumers' cooperation and on the part of the state. For example, it is incomprehensible why, while investing immense material and financial means in land reclamation work in this zone, in the construction of roads, and in assistance to the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, we allot essentially miserly sums for the development of trade.

Concerning the Russian Consumers' Union, it seems that it sees nothing catastrophic in the situation that has developed in trade in rural areas. In any case in the decisions of the recent congress of this organization only one sentence was devoted to all the problems discussed above. It was of a general nature, of course. The last congress of consumers' societies of the country approached trade service for the rural population with the same kind of standard.

Central Asian Republics View Foreign Trade

18070630 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 89 p 3

[Report by the Kazakh Telegraph Agency: "Developing Foreign Economic Contacts"]

[Text] Participation in the international division of labor is becoming an increasingly important factor of economic development. There no longer is a sector of the national economy in our republic which is not involved in the sphere of contacts with foreign companies. This was noted at the interrepublic seminar-meeting on foreign economic contacts which was held in Alma-Ata on 20-21 April. Executives from the State Planning Committee, Ministry of Finance, USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Cooperation, the USSR State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries, the "Litsenzintorg" All-Union Association, planning commissions, ministries of finance, and foreign trade associations of the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan took part in the meeting.

The meeting was opened by Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] N.A Nazarbayev.

It was noted in the plenary and section meetings that considerable experience in foreign economic contacts has been accumulated in the region. For example, Kazakhstan has become a leading exporter of non-ferrous, rare, and rare-earth metals, chrome ore, ferroalloys, phosphorus, and other products. Multifaceted contacts with 86 states have been established. Products with the Kazakhstan brand are delivered to the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America, to England, the U.S., France, the FRG, and Japan.

In cooperation with the socialist countries, a transition is under way from mostly commercial agreements to profound specialization and production sharing. Thousands of Soviet specialists and workers are providing assistance abroad in designing and erecting various facilities, prospecting for, and developing mineral deposits, and in training national cadres.

However, all of this does not suffice anymore. Enterprises, associations, and production cooperatives are still taking little advantage of their rights to export and import operations, primarily because they do not make their products competitive. Poor knowledge of the needs and requests of foreign consumers, the lack of skill of negotiating and signing advantageous contracts are also a factor. The interest of enterprises in the results of their external economic activities should be used to a greater degree; the role of planning, finance, and bank organs should be increased, and not only in performing currency and credit operations alone.

The republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan are rich in natural resources. However, they cannot be spent carelessly to pay for the imports of consumer goods. It is necessary to channel the currency received rationally, into purchasing advanced technology and equipment. In conjunction with this, the finance and credit agencies, and main planning and economic directorates of oblast executive committees should attune the enterprises to producing goods with high added value, and a greater degree of readiness for operation, while reducing correspondingly the share of raw and primary processing materials in exports.

The intellectual potential is clearly not used sufficiently in foreign economic contacts, despite many valuable concepts having been generated by scientists, inventors, and authors of improvements. This is why the issue of implementing scientific and technological developments abroad is as acute as ever. The need was noted to invigorate considerably the operations in this sphere on the basis of rights and opportunities granted by the resolutions of the party and the state, and of pooling the efforts of various organizations.

Those in attendance familiarized themselves with the operation of the republic association "Kazakhintorg."

L.Ye. Davletova, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, O.I. Zheltikov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh SSR, and heads of ministries and departments of the republic took part in the meeting.

Scientific

Return Apparatus of 'Photon' Satellite Lands

LD1205100989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 11 May 89

[Text] The return apparatus of the technological satellite "Photon" landed in the Orenburg region today. This is the only space laboratory production complex in the world which makes it possible to obtain in orbit substances and materials of unique properties. [video shows a round object connected to a large parachute after landing, a person trying to unscrew the opening, helicopter flying above]

An instrument made by French scientists was placed on board the satellite for this flight. "Photon's" work was successfully completed. According to a report by our correspondent, the analysis of the information delivered to earth will start today. [video shows a group of people who, having opened the satellite, are looking inside and taking a component out and placing it in a reinforced box]

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